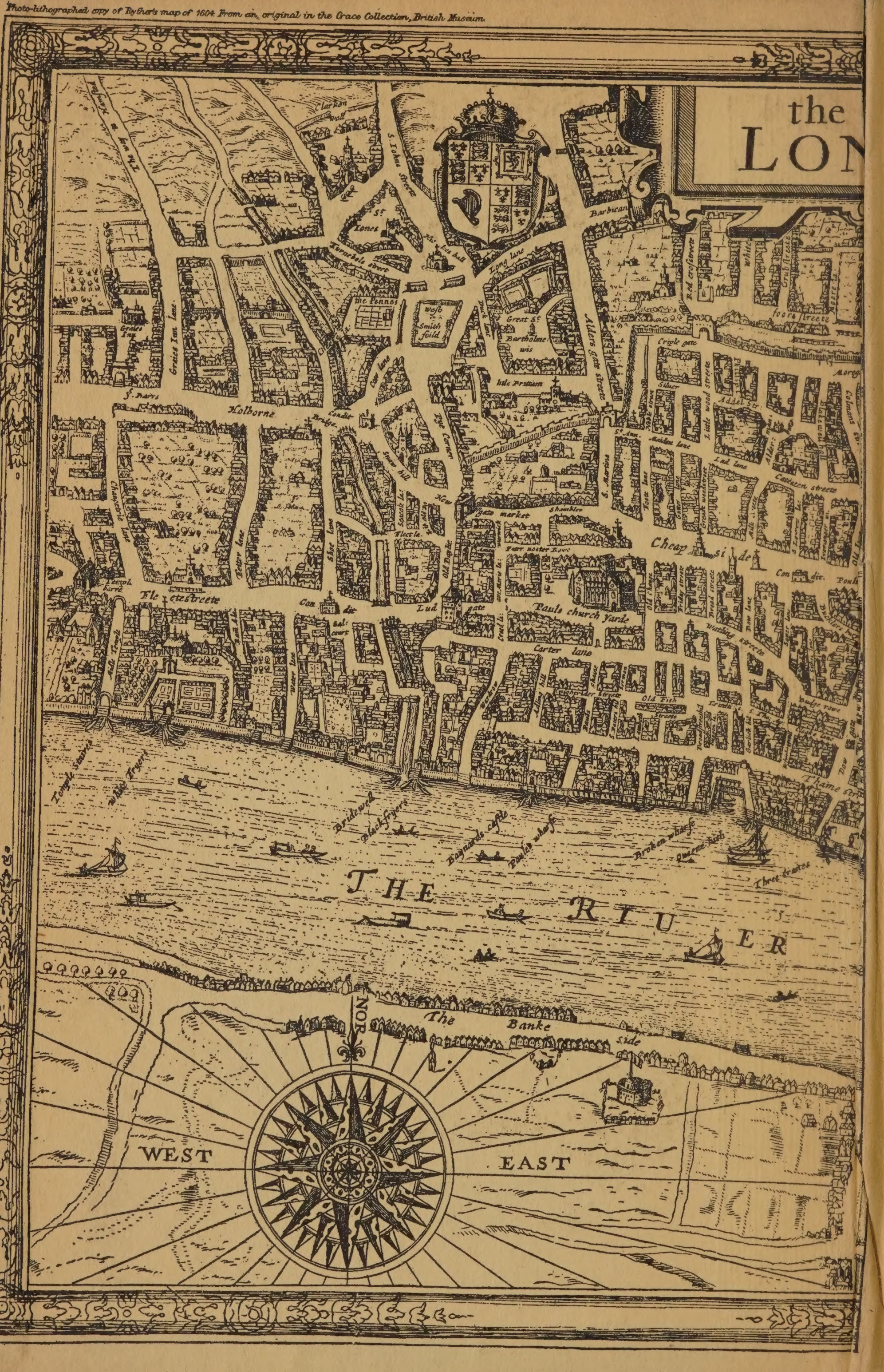
Roger Williams.

*Photo-lithographed copy of Ryther's map of 1604. From an original in the Grace Collection, British Museum.*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Snow hill
Pye Corner
Ilde Prittain
St Anne
Maiden lane
St Martins
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Lud gate
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Friday streete
Bread streete
Bow lane
Watling streete
Carter lane
Old Fish streete
Bucklers bury
Water lane
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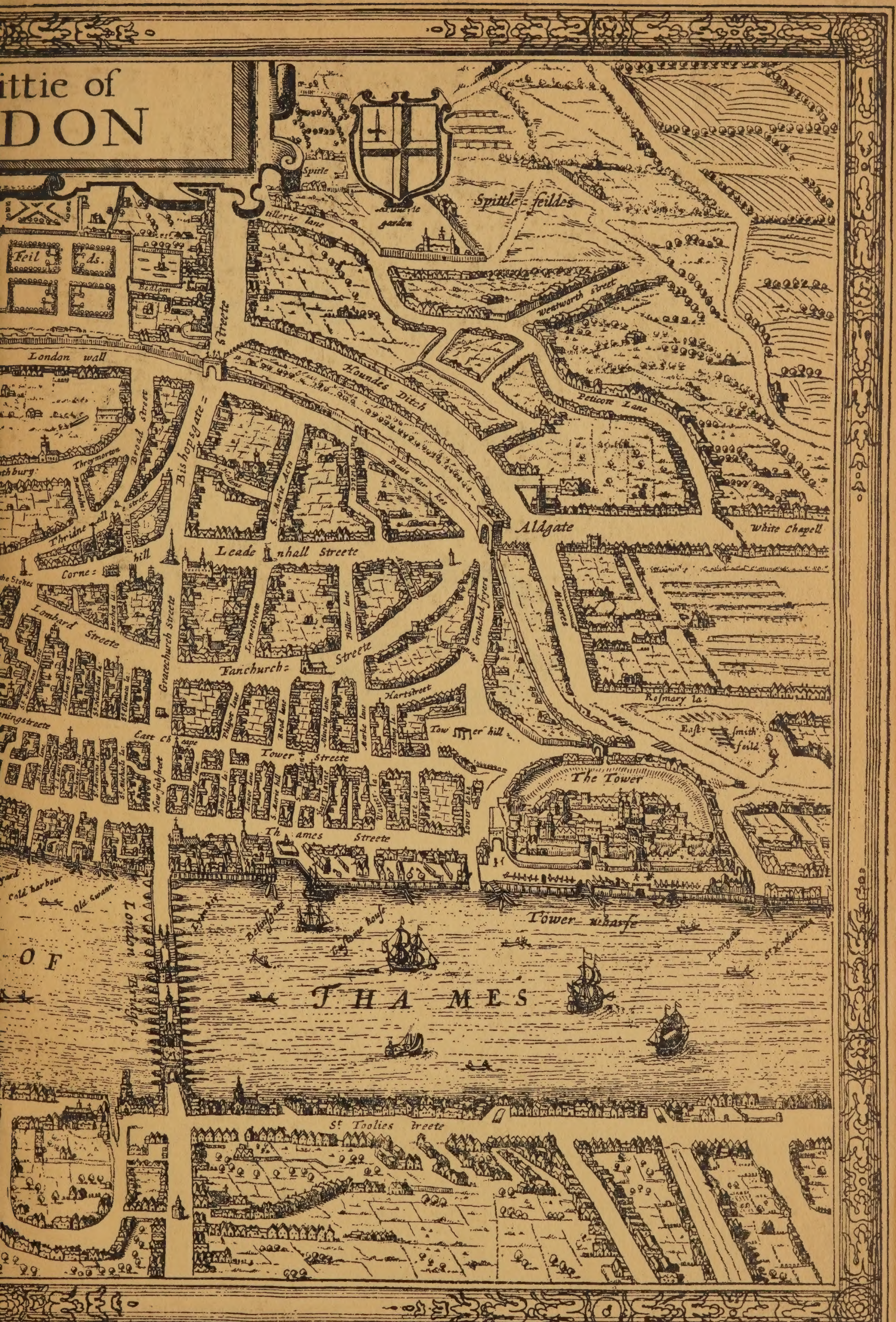
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Thames Streete
Tower wharfe
Billinsgate
Custome house
Iron gate
St Katherins
Old Swann
Cold harbour
London bridge
OF
THAMES
St Toolies streete

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# ROGER WILLIAMS

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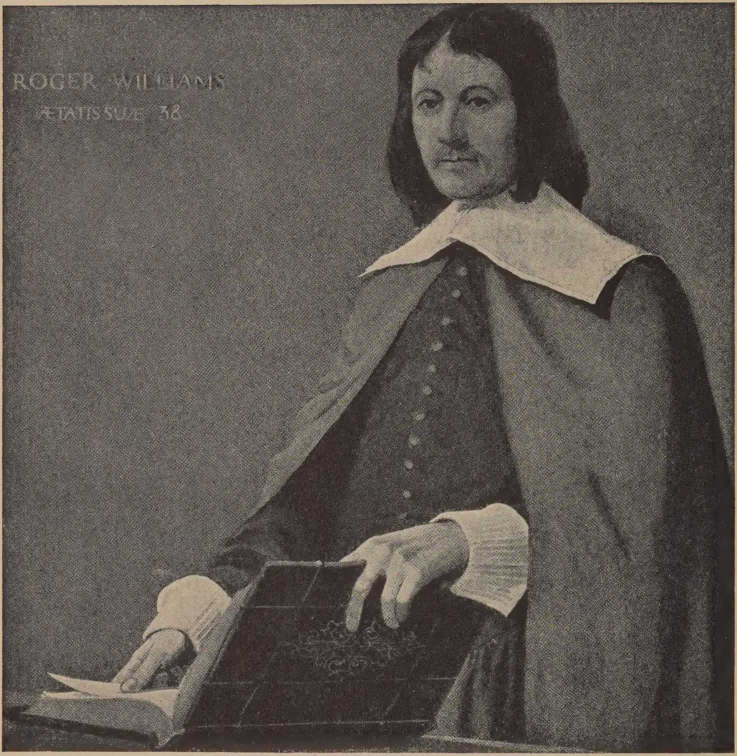
ROGER WILLIAMS
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Roger Williams.

# ROGER WILLIAMS

## PROPHET AND PIONEER

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BY
EMILY EASTON

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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1930

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TO

F. T. E.

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The title-page device is the seal used by Roger Williams.

The front end-paper carries a map of London in 1604 by Ryther, of Amsterdam, reproduced from W. J. Loftie's *History of London* (London, 1883). The map on the rear end-paper showing the locations of the residents of Providence in 1650, compiled by Henry R. Chace, is from Gertrude Selwyn Kimball's *Providence in Colonial Times* (Boston, 1912).

# ROGER WILLIAMS

PROPHET AND PIONEER

⁂

# INTRODUCTION

## LONDON IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(1603–1621)

# ROGER WILLIAMS

⁂

## INTRODUCTION

## LONDON IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

### I

### THE TIMES OF THE EARLY STUARTS IN ENGLAND

Roger Williams, prophet and pioneer, was a city boy. The man who was to be banished from the small settlements of colonists on a foreign shore, into an unknown wilderness peopled only by wandering bands of savages, there to make a home and found a state, passed his boyhood in the roaring and colorful panorama of one of the largest cities in the world.

From London, England, to Providence, New England, in the early seventeenth century, was a wide step. Between the sophisticated civilization of London under James I and the wigwams of the aborigines beyond the outposts of the colonial settlements stretched the wide Atlantic and yawned the deep gulf of religious antagonism. For Roger did not come as an explorer, like Drake, or an adventurer, like Raleigh, seeking glory or plunder: but as a fugitive, supremely desirous only of liberty of life and thought, and of peace from persecution. The young minister left the civilized complexity of Stuart England, still elated with her victory over proud Spain, for the dark forests and uncharted waters of an unknown New World. He gave up the association with men of highest education and culture and refinement — Cambridge dons and churchmen, Sir Edward Coke, John

Milton — for the constant companionship of humble artisans and untutored barbarians — John Smith, miller, William Arnold, tailor, and Miantonomo and Canonicus, chief Sachems of the Narragansett Indians. He exchanged a life of comfort and good living among the best people, amid delightful surroundings, for one of great hardship and privation among childlike savages, when he went from the manor house of Sir William Masham in Essex, where he was chaplain, to the log hut on the shores of Narragansett Bay.

Roger Williams was born in London at the beginning of the century, but in just which year it is impossible absolutely to determine. The parish records of the church of Saint Sepulchre, the church his parents attended, were burned in the Great Fire of London, 1666, and therefore his age must be computed indirectly from his own words. In 1632, at Plymouth, the young preacher, lately come over from England, wrote:

> 'I am no elder in any church nor ever shall be if the Lord please to grant my desires that I may intend what I long after, the natives' souls: and yet if I at present were, I should be in the days of my vanity, nearer upwards of thirty than of twenty-five.'

Upwards means 'more than.' If he was, in 1632, nearer over thirty than over twenty-five, his birth year was 1602 or 1603. In 1676, in his 'Epistle to the Quakers,' he wrote:

> 'From my childhood, now above three score years.'

A few years before his death in Providence, on July 21, 1679, testifying as to Richard Smith's house being the first put up in the thickets of the barbarians (the Narragansetts at Wickford) he wrote:

> 'being now near to fourscore years of age, yet by God's mercy, of sound understanding and memory... the premises I humbly testify, as now leaving this country and this world.'

Though it is impossible to state with certainty the year of his birth, it was practically coincident with the accession of James I of England in 1603. The days of his childhood and youth, of the forming of his character, were the early days of the Stuarts, the time of the decadence from the glory and magnificence of the reign of Elizabeth to the spectacular license of that of James, the time of the great and growing prosperity of the City and Trade, and the time of the momentous struggle within the Church of England, between Conformist and Nonconformist.

London, in the time of the Stuarts, was a city of violent contrasts: it was the home of the King as well as of the people, of idle courtiers and Puritan tradesmen. The Court was notable for its extravagance and its folly. James, quite unused to Elizabethan pomp and show in the Scottish Court from which he came, was captivated by it, and only too glad to turn away from the practices and prohibitions of a dull existence restricted by a forbidding religion, strict Calvinism. He had been securely bound to the Kirk: he was happy to feel the loosening of the cord in the freer atmosphere of the English Court where pleasure was popular. Both he and the Queen delighted in the new gayety of life, the great banquets, the masques, the pageants that Elizabeth had enjoyed, and plunged unreservedly into the mad pursuit of pleasure. An old historian, Arthur Wilson wrote:

> 'Queen Anne ruled in Somerset House (an old palace that Inigo Jones newly fronted), turning the court into a continued Maskerado, with herself and her ladies dressed as so many sea nymphs or nereids.'

But James had none of Elizabeth's shrewd understanding and strength of character. He was the easy prey of favorites whose claim to their high preference lay in their physical graces and extravagant tastes. Handsome faces, fine clothes, feasts and shows pleased James. Pleasant diversion for the monarch offered his courtiers the source of power, and they were quick to seize and drain it. License, dissolute living, vice and crime followed through the Court. Money was needed, an unending stream of money. And James must get the money from the people, through their Parliament.

But while the Court of James was profligate in the pursuit of pleasure, the bulk of the common people showed quite another character. In derision they were called Puritans. Religion dominated their lives. The establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth, for political reasons, had resulted in the growth on the part of the people of a firm adherence to the principles of the reformed faith, of protests against forms and ceremonies which they feared meant the return of Popery, and of a strict and stern morality of life. Into daily living they carried their principle of protest: if the courtier wore long hair, theirs was short; if his dress was elaborate, bombasted breeches and wheel farthingales, of gay color and texture, satin and velvet, purple and green and scarlet, with gold braid and fine lace ruffles and sweeping ostrich plumes, theirs was dark and sober, of plain material and simple cut. If he laughed and swore and drank and caroused, they worked hard at their trades, went to church, sang psalms and read their Bibles. Especially did they read their Bibles. Henry VIII had put the Bible into the churches, chained, but its reading by the masses was forbidden. Elizabeth permitted its circulation: during each year of the latter half of her reign, three editions of five hundred each were printed, making it available for every Protestant family in England. The privilege was eagerly grasped. A great resource and fund of home entertainment opened to every household. They read their Bibles diligently, especially the Old Testament: they saw in it their own history and prophecy. They believed that God had prospered them and made them victorious over the great Spanish Armada (Elizabeth had a medal struck off — 'God sent his wind and scattered them'); that they were the chosen people; that they had great rights and grave responsibilities. And the voice of the people insisting on their rights was Parliament.

Such was the deep antagonism and constant friction between these two elements in the life of London — of all England — in the time of James I. The tide which broke over the head of Charles I was rising throughout his father's entire reign. It had begun before James came to the throne. Elizabeth, though necessarily a strong adherent of Protestantism, since her throne depended on it, is reported to have often said that she hated Puritans worse than Papists. She was summary in her treatment of their opposition. In 1585, she vetoed a law passed by Parliament for the better and more reverent observance of the Sabbath. In the last few years of her reign she deprived hundreds of dissenting clergymen of their livings. She said that but four or five ministers to a county were sufficient. In consequence the aggressive, if not fanatical, Nonconformists carried on their worship and their meetings secretly. Having found Elizabeth's religious control harsh and unsympathetic, they expected that James, of the strict Calvinist Church of Scotland, would be more favorable to their cause.

The first act of the people after the coronation of James was the presentation of their Millenary Petition (millenary because signed by a thousand clergymen), a protest against enforced church practices which they thought inclined toward Popery and a plea for reform in the ecclesiastical courts from which they suffered unjustly. It acknowledged episcopacy, but asked for changes in the ritual, and a better observance of the Sabbath. His rude treatment of the petition, and rejection of its proposals at the Hampton Conference six months later, was his first act of alienation from the sympathy of his subjects. The Puritans then had no wish to separate themselves from the Church of England. But they did already passionately desire relief from some of the rigidly imposed forms and practices of the Church, such as the wearing of vestments. In Elizabeth's reign the Sabbath had lost all distinction from any other day. All men went about their ordinary business. The first Parliament of James's reign refused to sit on Sunday, and thereafter Sunday labor could not be enforced. 'I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land,' said James. But his refusal of the petition did not stop the flood of protests. Ministers openly preached their views in their pulpits until three hundred of them were silenced or deprived of their livings, and some cast into prison. Many churches were left without ministers, and there began that at first secret emigration to lands where people were free to practice religion as they felt bound to do, which culminated in the settlement of New England.

## II

## THE LONDON OF ROGER WILLIAMS'S BOYHOOD

Though there is little of record of the personal history of Roger Williams before he left England in 1630, there is a wealth of documentary history of the London of the times of the Stuarts, into which the few known details of his life fit like inconspicuous bits in a complicated, bright-hued puzzle. The first definite date is that of his election as a scholar at Charterhouse School, which the patronage of Sir Edward Coke effected for him on June 25, 1621, when he was seventeen or eighteen years old. His boyhood was that of a Puritan lad in the home of a well-to-do London tradesman, a merchant tailor in Cow Lane. The environment that was moulding his character was that of the London Streets and buildings and gathering places.

London, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was a city of about a hundred and fifty thousand people, extending over an area of approximately one square mile. It was spread along the northern bank of the river Thames from the Tower on the east to Westminster on the west, two miles or more, and extended inland for half a mile, to Smithfield on the north. It was in form a roughly irregular triangle, with the river as its base and Smithfield its apex. The eastern part was the old walled city, reaching from the Tower to Castle Baynard, ancient Norman stronghold in Blackfriars, on the river-bank, below the mighty cathedral of Saint Paul. At the western end, it was as if the long acute angle of the triangle were bent sharply downward with the bend of the river, from Charing Cross at the end of the Strand, to Westminster Abbey, in a sort of tail. But this was the tail that wagged the dog, for it consisted of the palaces of Westminster and Whitehall, the seat of government — of Parliament, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission — and the city residence of the King. The Strand was a row of the great houses of the nobles, where luxury and extravagant living gave plentiful occupation for the city trades and business to the eastward.

Midway of the bank of the river, as it bounded the old walled town, was London Bridge, with houses built upon both sides, so that it seemed rather a continuous street than a bridge. At each end of the drawbridge were towered gates, where the heads of traitors were hung — as those of the gunpowder plotters in 1606, Guy Fawkes, Winter, Rookwood, Keys, Digby, Grant, Bates. Across the river was the less reputable section of the city, the settlement of Southwark, where were bear pits and theaters, taverns and the stews. At various places along the river-bank, steps led down to the water for the convenience of passengers on the river boats, a favorite means of transportation from place to place in the narrow length of the waterside city. There were several landing-stages at Westminster and at Whitehall, and each of the great houses that lined the Strand, from Whitehall to the Temple, the Inns of Court — York House, Somerset House, The Savoy — had its own stairs. Eastward, between the Temple Gardens and the Tower of London, there were many. The cries of the waterman added a picturesque note to the noises of the city. There were, according to Stow, 'above the number, as is supposed, of two thousand wherries and other small boats, whereby three thousand poor men, at the least, were set on work, and maintained.' These were in addition to the private barges and the great ships and other vessels of burden. In 1601 the watermen brought a bill into Parliament to protect their rights by restraining the excessive use of coaches in the city — a bill that was rejected on the second reading.

Every sort of person, from king to beggar, might be seen at some time in the crowds on foot or horseback in the London streets and in the boats on the river Thames, the great waterway between the two ends of the city. Only a few of the streets were paved: for the most part they were narrow and dirty. The common use of carriages was only beginning. Coaches were introduced in Elizabeth's time (she had the first in 1564), and were used by the nobility and for riding long distances. At first their use was denounced as tending toward 'an idle habit of body,' the falling-off of breeding and keeping of saddle horses, and the decline of the watermen. In 1625, five years before Roger Williams left England, hackney coaches were first established in the city, by Captain Busby, four at the Maypole in the Strand. They had no windows, but perforated metal shutters. The fare was eighteen pence the first hour, one shilling afterward. There remains a proclamation ten years later forbidding hackney coaches from standing in the street. There were then comparatively few of them, but the number of private coaches in the too narrow streets was constantly increasing. The rivermen seriously objected to the innovation that threatened to take away their means of livelihood.

Many of the fine shows of the time took place on the river. In October, 1616, when Prince Charles was proclaimed Prince of Wales, there was a 'great fluminous pageant.' The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and City Companies went by water in great pomp to Chelsea, whence they conducted Prince Charles to Whitehall, 'with the most magnificent shows and curious diversions that had ever been seen on the River Thames.' Thirteen-year-old Roger Williams was doubtless an interested spectator of this triumph in which the Merchant Taylors were taking part. Four years later, in 1620, the year of his father's death, the winter was very cold, and the 'Thames was so strongly frozen that streets of booths were erected thereon, wherein were sold all sorts of goods as in a public fair, as were likewise all sorts of diversions practiced, as well as on land.'

There were winter sports on the river in cold weather: in summer, there were fine fishing and bathing. 'Lord Northampton, in the reign of Charles I, was taken with colic and died while bathing in the Thames after waiting on the king at supper and supping himself.' There was abundance of fish in the river, and particularly fine salmon. The Thames fishermen invariably carried the first salmon of the season to the King's table; the first sturgeon, if caught below London Bridge, to the table of the Lord Mayor; if caught above London Bridge, to the table of the King or Lord High Admiral: according to a manuscript in the Lord Steward's office. From his earliest years Roger was used to life on the banks of a great water. In later years, Moshassuck River and Narragansett Bay took the place of the noble river Thames in his life.

Roger Williams's vantage-point for the observation of London life and times was Cow Lane, or Cowbridge Street, now King Street, Snow Hill. It was a busy street in a busy section, though outside the old walled city. It ran from the end of Chicken Lane, at the northwest corner of Smithfield, the great market-place, southeastward, curving toward Oldbourne (Holborn), to the conduit at the foot of Snow Hill below Newgate. It was one of the bounds of the Ward of Farringdon Without, where the walled city first began to overflow out of Newgate and Ludgate toward the west. It was a new and fine part of London Town: the buildings were 'fair and comely.' John Stow, a tailor by trade, historian and antiquary by choice, made his 'Survey of London' at the end of Elizabeth's reign and revised and republished it in the year of James's accession to the throne. His lifetime of devoted research has given to posterity a knowledge of London 'more intimate than we possess of the same city at any other period or of any other city in any age of the world.' He enumerated and quaintly described in faithful detail the immediate surroundings of Roger Williams's boyhood:

'On the west side [of Smithfield] is Chicken Lane down to Cowbridge. Then be the pens or folds, so called of sheep there parted and penned up to be sold on the market days. Then is Smithfield Pond, which of old time in records was called Horse Pool, for that men watered horses there, and was a great water.... Amongst these new buildings is Cowbridge Street or Cow Lane, which turneth toward Oldbourne, in which lane the prior of Semperingham had his inn or London lodging. The rest of that west side of Smithfield hath divers fair inns, and other comely buildings, up to Hosiar Lane, which also turneth down to Oldbourne till it meet with Cowbridge St.'

It was, evidently, a good neighborhood of well-to-do tradesmen. The houses were of the familiar type of the Shakespeare house at Stratford. They were gabled, half-timbered, of two or three stories, with the second story frequently jutting out over the street. A few such still remain scattered over London. The inn, or London lodging of the Prior of Sempringham, before Henry VIII's suppression of monasteries, would be a fine house. James Williams, merchant tailor, would have his shop in the front of the lower floor of his dwelling, with wares displayed behind the small-paned windows, and a sign hanging over the door. Houses were not numbered in those days. Inns and shops had signs, and houses were designated by their proximity to some sign. Behind the shop, where the tradesmen and his sons and apprentices plied their trade, were the living-room and kitchen: above-stairs, the bedrooms. The floors (even of palaces) were strewn with herbs or rushes, the walls hung with cloths painted with texts of Scripture. The furniture was simple — tables, stools, chests, and beds with curtains to keep out the drafts. The tableware was pewter and silver, for it was before the time of crockery and glassware. There were spoons and knives, but no forks. The food was mostly meat and bread and beer: 'everything in season; midsummer, beef and beans; Michaelmas, fresh herrings; All Saints, pork and souse; Lent, salt fish, parsnips and leeks; Easter, veal and bacon, or bacon and eggs; Martinmas, salt beef.' City tradesmen kept one kitchen maid. The wife and daughters, with the able help of the apprentice in the shop, did the rest of the housework.

A good idea of the duties of a city apprentice can be had from the 'Autobiography of an Apprentice,' a scrivener's printer, F. K., who was apprenticed at the age of sixteen, for eight years. His father paid thirty pounds, and gave bond for a hundred pounds, for guarantee of the boy's honesty. There were two others, but the youngest had to do the dirty work. Apart from his work in the shop, writing out deeds, conveyances, etc., he had also

> 'to clean the shoes, carry out the ashes and dust, sweep the shop, cleanse the sink (and a long, nasty one it was), draw the beer, at washing time fetch up coals and kettles: these were my within doors employs, and abroad I was to go of all errands and carry all burthens. The kitchen-wench would, when she pleased, command me into the kitchen, so that I must be here, there, and everywhere: and above all things, I must humor to please the maid, or else she would pick holes in my coat and tell tales of me to my mistress, who would not let me live a quiet hour.'

Doubtless there was such an apprentice or apprentices in James Williams's shop.

There were other shops in Cow Lane besides that of James Williams, tailor. In Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair,' Act I, Sc. 1, Mrs. Littlewit says: 'Sir, my mother has had her nativity-water cast by the cunning men in Cow Lane and they have told her her fortune.' It was much the fashion to consult these quack fortune-tellers. The Countess of Essex sought the help of the conjurer Forman in her schemes for a divorce and more brilliant marriage. Later, William White, bookseller, dwelling in Cow Lane, London, imprinted 'The Fraternity of Vagabonds' in 1663: and Pepys made honorable mention of the carriage shops in Cow Lane more than once in his 'Diary.' October 20, 1668, he saw a carriage which did please him mightily. The next day he took his wife 'to Cow Lane and there showed her the coach that I did pitch on and she is out of herself for joy almost.' But a friend 'finds most infinite fault with it' and they try shops elsewhere. But on November 5:

> 'With Mr. Povy spent all the afternoon going up and down among the coach makers in Cow Lane and did see several: and at last did pitch upon a little chariot, at the widow's that made Mr. Lowther's fine coach; and we are mightily pleased with it, being light, and will be very genteel and sober.'

A scrivener, William King, a 'friend and neighbor,' in 1634 is mentioned in the will of Alice, wife of James Williams, and mother of Roger; also an inn, on the opposite side of the street from the Williamses' house — The Harrow. Its name as well as its location would indicate something of the nature of its patrons. It was probably not a tavern, but one of those 'fair inns for the receipt of travellers' that Stow says grew up around Smithfield. There is now in King Street a public house, the Red Cow, which well may be a survivor of an older inn.

The will of Roger Williams's mother, 'Alice Williams, of Saint Sepulchre's without Newgate, London, proved January 26, 1634,' by its bequests gives some indication of the family fortunes and the style in which they lived:

> '... I give to my son Roger Williams, now beyond the seas, ten pounds yearly to be paid unto him by my executor for

and during the term and space of twenty years next after my decease,... to be paid by the assignment of the lease or leases of my dwelling-house and other tenements standing and being on that side of the way wherein my dwelling-house is situated.'

(She also owned the 'messuage or tenement called the Harrow, in Cow Lane over against my dwelling-house, on the other side of the way; and of the three several tenements backside next adjoining.')

'To my grandchild, Anne Williams, my chains of gold, 2 of my gilt spoons, 1 of my gilt cups.

'To my grandchild, James Wightman,[1] 2 of my silver beakers, 1 wine bowl, 2 silver spoons.

'To my grandchild, Dorcas Wightman, 1 broad silver bowl, 1 other silver bowl.

'To my grandchild, Rebecca Wightman, 1 broad silver bowl, 1 other silver bowl.

'To my grandchild, Elizabeth Davies, 1 silver salt, 2 gilt spoons.

'To my grandchild, Hester Davies, 1 beaker, 1 pot tipped with silver, 2 spoons.

'My chest of linen, that is to say, the wainscot chest, now standing at my bed's feet in my lodging chamber, under the window, to be equally divided among my said daughter's five children beforenamed.'

At the foot of the lane in Snow Hill stood Lamb's Conduit, a public fountain of 'water conveyed in lead from divers springs to one head and thence to the said conduit.' There were several of these conduits in London to supplement the private wells with which the houses were supplied. They also served as gathering places for loungers, and news centers. Snow Hill, 'steep, narrow, circuitous, dangerous,' was part of the main thoroughfare from Newgate to the west, crossing the Fleet River by Holborn Bridge to Holborn

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[1] Katherine Williams married first Ralph Wightman, citizen and merchant tailor, and later John Davies, clerk (minister).

Hill, and much traveled 'by passengers with carriage or otherwise from Newgate toward the west by north.' To the foot of Cow Lane, up Snow Hill to Newgate, opposite which was the church of Saint Sepulchre, was an accustomed walk for Roger Williams.

At the other end of Cow Lane, not less frequented than Snow Hill, was Cowbridge, 'over the same water' (the Fleet or River of the Wells). Stow says: 'This bridge being lately decayed, another of timber is made somewhat more North, by Chick Lane.' These bridges led into Smithfield from the north. Smithfield, the apex of the triangle that was London, was a place where part of the life of every Londoner was spent. It was the city playground, the open-air meeting-place, a somewhat kite-shaped area of five or more acres. It lay outside the old walls, and was reached most directly from Newgate. 'Betwixt the said Newgate and the Church called Saint Sepulchres', is a way towards Smithfield called Gilt Spurre or Knightrider's Street, of the knights and others riding that way into Smithfield, replenished with buildings on both sides up to Pie Corner.' Pie Corner was the tail corner of the Smithfield kite.

Illustrious is Smithfield in centuries of history, as the place of the weekly Friday cattle market and the annual cloth market and Saint Bartholomew's Fair: of much brilliant pageantry of joust and tournament; of many executions and burnings of criminals and heretics: and all too often of the burial of the plague-smitten. It was on the edge of Smithfield that Roger Williams's boyhood was spent: with every phase of its activity he would be familiar.

## III

## SMITHFIELD, THE MARKETPLACE

With Smithfield the market and playground Roger Williams came in most frequent contact. For hundreds of years, till 1855, it was the great trading-place for horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, and for hay and farm implements. Cow Lane, leading out of Smithfield toward Holborn, then the country, was a busy thoroughfare. Friday was the day of the weekly horse fair; Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday were the days of the hay market.

Smithfield was well adapted for a cattle market — level ground, a 'smooth field,' with abundant water, on the border between city and country. The historian Fitzstephen wrote, in the time of Henry II,

> 'Est ibi extra unam portarum, statim in suburbio, quidam planus, re et nomine, [where] every Friday, unless it should be a solemn festival there was a market for fine horses, whither came to look or to buy, earls, barons, knights and a swarm of citizens. There were prancers, draught horses, hacks, and charging steeds, the last named being those used as race-horses. There could be found a trotting horse for an esquire or an ambling horse worthy to be a knight's gift to a lady. In the Friday market was another quarter for the sale of peasants' wares, implements of husbandry of all kinds, pigs and cows, oxen, plough mares and cart mares, some with foal.'

Fitzstephen also speaks of a great pond, 'attached to the moor fields on one side and to the partly fenny, partly firm ground of the green plain and playground of Smithfield on the other, called the Horse Pool, where the beasts were watered at the Friday cattle market,' and which was the scene of skating and other winter sports of the youth of London in the twelfth century.

When Stow wrote in 1603, there had been

> 'encroachments and enclosure of this Smithfield, whereby remaineth but a small portion for the old uses; to wit: for markets of horses and cattle, neither for military exercises, as joustings, turnings and great triumphs, which had been performed before the princes and nobility both of this realm and of foreign countries.'

By 1615, the smoothness of the field had become such roughness, ruts, and muck that, by order of King James, the Mayor had it cobbled. In the summer of 1615, the City of London reduced the rude vast place of Smithfield

> 'into a fair and comely order, which formerly was never held possible to be done, and paved it all over and made divers sewers to convey the water from the new channels that were made by the reason of the new pavement; they made strong rails round about Smithfield and sequestered the middle part of the said Smithfield into a very fair and civil walk, and railed it round about with strong rails to defend the place from annoyance and danger, as well from carts as from all manner of cattle, because it was intended hereafter that in time it might prove a fair and peaceful market-place, by reason that Newgate Market, Cheapside, Leadenhall and Gracechurch Street were unmeasureably pestered with the unimaginable increase and multiplicity of market folks. Some streets now had cobble replaced by flat stones; but many streets and lanes remained still unpaved.'

This paving of Smithfield and of the various streets done at the same time was a labor of six months, at a cost of sixteen hundred pounds. Doubtless the progress of the work was daily inspected by twelve-year-old Roger Williams of Cow Lane.

Smithfield was the playground for the youth of the city; on holidays they had games of all kinds —

> 'Sundays in Lent troops of young men, sons of the citizens, rushed out at the gates with lances and shields to engage in sham fights, and if the king happened to be in the neighborhood, young men of rank who sought advancement hovered about him and combated together in his presence. At Easter there were games at striking the target on the water, and there was the bridge crowded with laughing spectators. On summer evenings the youth would run, leap, wrestle, cast the stone, or contend with bucklers, swords and arrows.'

It is small wonder that 'Smithfield was for many years called Ruffian's Hall by reason that it was the usual place for frays and common fighting during the days when swords and bucklers were in common use.'

## IV

## SMITHFIELD, THE PLEASURE-GROUND: SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S FAIR

ALTHOUGH young Roger Williams lived too late to witness the splendid spectacles of Queen Elizabeth's time, those of James I were of like kind, and many traditions of royal shows in Smithfield survived in the celebrated neighborhood where the boy dwelt. Reminiscent of the old-time pageants was the Lord Mayor's official opening of the Cloth Fair and of the Sports at Saint Bartholomew's Fair. This Fair was 'kept yearly at Bartholomew tide for three days, to wit, the eve, the day, and the next morrow,' says Stow. Roger lived in the midst of the Fair, which spilled over from Smithfield into the adjoining districts.

'On St. Bartholomew's Day, for the Fair in Smithfield, the aldermen meet my Lord and the sheriffs at the Guildhall Chapel at two of the clock after dinner in their violet gowns lined, and their horses, without cloaks, and there hear evening prayer; which being done, they take their horses and ride to Newgate, and so forth to the gate entering in at the Cloth Fair, and there make a proclamation [as to the laws of the Fair and the Court thereof]; the proclamation being made, they ride through the Cloth Fair, and so return back again, through the churchyard of Great St. Bartholomew's to Aldersgate, and so ride home again to the Lord Mayor's house.

'On St. Bartholomew's Day, for wrestling... so many aldermen as dine with my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, be apparelled in the scarlet gowns lined, and after dinner their horses be brought to them where they dine, and these aldermen which dine with the sheriffs, ride with them to my Lord's house, to accompany him to the wrestling. Then when the wrestling is done, they take their horses and ride back again through the Fair and so in at Aldersgate and so home again to the Lord Mayor's house.... The next day, if it be not Sunday, is for the Shooting.'

Hentzner, the German traveler, visited the Fair in 1598, and describes the Mayor's visit to the Fair, the procession and the wrestling before the mayor's tent:

'After this is over a parcel of live rabbits are turned loose among the crowd, which boys chase with great noise. While we were at this show, one of our company, Tobias Salander, Doctor of Physic, had his pocket picked of his purse, with nine crowns, which without doubt was so cleverly taken from him by an Englishman, who always kept very close to him that the Doctor did not in the least perceive it.'

Saint Bartholomew's Fair was instituted by Richard II as the Cloth Fair in the churchyard of the Priory of Saint Bartholomew, which was the eastern boundary of Smithfield. Fairs, or markets as they were originally, were held in the churchyards, as were all public gatherings, religious or otherwise. Wool and cloth were the chief staple products of England, and this London fair was for all of England, 'to the which the clothiers of all England, and drapers of London repaired, and had their booths and standings within the churchyard of this priory, closed in with walls and gates locked every night, for safety of men's goods and wares; a court of pie powders was daily during the fair holden for debts and contracts.'

In connection with the Mayor's opening of the Cloth Fair was the ceremony of the Merchant Taylors in inspecting the measures to be used there. As the weavers were naturally the first of the City Companies or Trades or Guilds to be organized, so the merchant tailors were the second. Stow finds 'that King Edward in the 28th of his reign (1300) confirmed that guild (fraternity of Saint John Baptist, time out of mind), [Saint John Baptist, patron of sheep and wool] by the name of tailors and linen armourers of London.' Linen armorers were makers of linen linings for armor. Edward III, wishing to establish the manufacture of woolen cloth, for the wealth of England was in wool, set the fashion for the nobility to join one of the important guilds by becoming a Linen Armourer (Merchant Taylor) in 1361. Richard Cœur de Lion was a Merchant Taylor. Some nobles were members of other necessary crafts. The skinners were essential tradesmen when robes of state were richly trimmed with fur. The mercers, or silk men, dealt in satin and velvet. Prince Henry joined the Merchant Taylors in 1607; the Guild had remonstrated with James when he joined the Cloth Workers, pointing out to him that their brotherhood had on its membership lists seven kings, one queen, seventeen princes and dukes, two duchesses, one archbishop, thirty earls, five countesses, one viscount, fourteen bishops, sixty-six barons, two ladies, seven abbots, seven priors, and an immense number of knights and esquires. Each Company had its livery, both for triumphs and otherwise, and made a fine showing when riding forth from its own Hall.

Certain members of the Company were appointed each year to attend the opening of Saint Bartholomew's Fair and verify the yard measures of the clothiers and drapers selling their wares there. In 1612 there is a note of a dinner in Merchant Taylors' Hall 'for the search on St. Bartholomew's Eve.' These inspectors carried the Company's silver yard, thirty-six ounces in weight, with the arms of the Merchant Taylors engraved upon it. In 1566, a dealer named Pullen was committed to prison by the Court of Pie Powders for using an unlawful yard which was found in his shop at the time of the search.

In 1609, the Drapers questioned the Merchant Taylors' right of search. But on the next court day the clerk proved from the books at Drapers Hall that the Merchant Taylors had been given the right of search for one hundred and fifty years when a lawsuit on the same question had been settled in their favor.

The Court of Pie Powders (a corruption of the French *pieds poudreux*, dusty feet; hence, peddlers, traveling traders) was a court having jurisdiction only in commercial questions, tried before a jury of traders formed on the spot — where 'justice was done, according to Sir Edward Coke, as speedily as dust can fall from the foot.' It could sit only in Fair time and within the Fair; it could try a thief who had committed robbery in the Fair only when he had also been captured within its bounds. It was held in a chamber of the inn of the Hand and Shears, chief of the inns within the Priory close where the Cloth Fair was held.

Besides the official sports, there came to be every kind of side-show and catch-penny device that follows in the wake of a great gathering of people on business and pleasure bent. The most famous character of the shows was the clown, the Devil, survival of the old miracle plays that were first held in the churchyard here or elsewhere. The Devil and his demons, dressed in leather, hung profusely with hair, issued picturesquely with a loud Ho! Ho! from the Mouth of Hell, a huge grotesque head, in which a fire burned conspicuously. Ben Jonson's comedy, 'Bartholomew Fair,' had its scene in the Pleasure Fair. Its *dramatis personae* included Adam Overdo, Judge of Court of Pie Powders, Daniel Knockem Jordan, the horse courser, etc.

A contemporary description of this part of the great Fair is given in a tract on 'Bartholomew Fair,' printed for Richard Harper at the Bible and Harpe in Smithfield, 1641:

'Let us now make a progress into Smithfield, which is the heart of the Fair, where in *my* heart, I think, there are more motions in a day to be seen than are in a term at Westminster Hall to be heard. But whilst you take notice of the several motions there, take this caution along with you, let one eye watch narrowly that no one's hand make a motion into your pocket, which is the next way to move you to impatience. The Fair is full of gold and silver drawers; just as Lent is to the fishmonger, so is Bartholomew Fair to the pickpocket;

it is his high harvest, which is never bad but when his cart goes [Tyburnia way] up Holborn. Some of your cut purses are in fee with cheating costermongers [apple-sellers].... It is remarkable and worth your observation to behold and hear the strange sights and confused noises in the Fair. Here is a knave in a Fool's coat, with a trumpet sounding, or on a drum beating, invites you and would fain persuade you to see his puppets; there a rogue like a wild woodman, or in an antick shape like an incubus, desires your company to see his motion; on the other side Hocus Pocus, with three yards of tape or ribbon in's hand, showing his art of legerdemain to the admiration and astonishment of a company of cock-a-loaches. Amongst these you shall see a gray goose-cap (as wise as the rest) with a What do ye lack? in his mouth, stand in his booth, shaking a rattle or scraping on a fiddle, with which children are so taken that they presently cry out for these fopperies: and all these together make such a distracted noise that you would think Babel were not comparable to it. Here are there also your gamesters in action; some, turning of a whimsey, others throwing for pewter, who can quickly dissolve a round shilling into a three half-penny saucer.

'Cloth Fair (the street so called) is now in great request: well fare the ale houses therein; yet better may a man fare (but at a dearer rate) in the Pig Market, alias Pasty Nook, or Pie Corner, where pigs are all hours of the day piping hot; (if they could speak) [they would say] Come eat me; but they are dear and the reckonings for them are saucy.'

Roast pig was always the characteristic dainty of the Fair, as in much later times in New England pink lemonade was the accompaniment of the circus and its side-shows. Dolls were first sold at Bartholomew Fair, and were called 'Bartholomew babies.' The boy Roger Williams would be an interested onlooker at all the sights of the famous Fair.

## V

## SMITHFIELD, THE PLACE OF EXECUTION BY BURNING AT THE STAKE

In contrast to its pleasant fame in connection with Saint Bartholomew's Fair, Smithfield was notorious for its public executions and burnings of criminals and heretics. The last heretic to be burned there was in Roger Williams's young boyhood, an event of a character and at a time most likely to make a deep impression on his mind. The stake was placed just outside the gates of the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew. The plan for the accommodation of the crowds of spectators is shown in an old woodcut in the first edition of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.' Here John Rogers, vicar (rector) of Saint Sepulchre's, was burned on February 4, 1555, one of the two hundred and seventy who became martyrs in the reign of Bloody Mary. The last heretic to be burned in Smithfield was Bartholomew Legate or Leggett, on March 18, 1612, although for other crimes occasional burnings occurred many years later.

Legate was an Essex man, convicted for Arianism before Bishop King of London. He was in prison for two years, but persisted in his views until he was pronounced an incorrigible heretic; and a writ 'de heretico comburendo' was directed to the sheriffs in London. He was forty years of age, 'person comely, complexion black, of a bold spirit, confident carriage, fluent tongue, excellently skilled in the Scriptures.' Once the King, meaning to surprise him into an admission of the Divinity of Christ, asked him if he did not pray every day to Christ. He said he had prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for the last seven years — which so shocked James that he spurned at him with his foot. At the stake the prisoner still refused to recant.

It is possible that eight-year-old Roger Williams was present at this awful event. It is certain that he heard much talk about it, and it is probable that he was deeply influenced by it. In 1632, in Plymouth, he said of himself,

> 'though in Christ called, and persecuted even in and out of my father's house these twenty years.'

Twenty years. Since he was eight years old. Since the burning of Legate in Smithfield. Legate was a 'Seeker.' Roger Williams, after being baptized into the First Baptist Church in Providence in 1637, found that his conscience would not let him remain in it. He became a 'Seeker,' and thereafter was not a member of any church; though always a preacher and an ardent practical Christian.

The Puritans themselves had little sympathy with separatists. Since Roger Williams spoke of having been persecuted in as well as out of his father's house, his father and mother were very likely of the mind of Thomas Fuller, Prebendary of Sarum, who, in his 'Church History of Britain,' naïvely exonerated himself from all blame in setting down the opinions of the Arians, in his comment on the burning of Legate:

> 'Before we set down his pestilent opinions, may writer and reader fence themselves with prayer to God against the infection thereof; lest, otherwise, touching such pitch (though with bare mention) defile us, casually tempting a temptation in us, and awaking some corruption which otherwise would sleep silently in our souls. And if, notwithstanding this caution, any shall reap an accidental evil to themselves by reading his damnable opinions, my pen is no more accessory to their harm, than that apothecary is guilty of murder, if others, out of a licourish curiosity, kill themselves with that poison which he kept in his shop for sovereign use to make antidotes thereof. His damnable tenets were as followeth:
>
> '1. That the Creeds called the Nicene, and Athanasius's creed, contain not a profession of true Christian faith.
>
> '2. That Christ is not "God of God; begotten not made" but begotten and made.
>
> '3. That there are no persons in the Godhead.

'4. That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God when he took flesh of the Virgin Mary.

'5. That the world was not made by Christ.

'6. That the Apostles teach Christ to be man only.

'7. That there is no generation in God, but of creatures.

'8. That this assertion "God to be made man" is contrary to the rule of faith and monstrous blasphemy.

'9. That Christ was not before the fulness of time except by promise.

'10. That Christ was not God, otherwise than an anointed God.

'11. That Christ was not in the form of God, equal with God, that is, in substance of God, but in righteousness, and giving salvation.

'12. That Christ by his Godhead wrought no miracle.

'13. That Christ is not to be prayed unto.'

For maintaining these opinions, Legate had long been in prison in Newgate, yet with liberty allowed him to go abroad. To Smithfield he was brought to be burned March 18.

'In this very Smithfield how many saints, in the Marian-days, suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ! Wherein now one therein dieth in his own blood for denying him! Vast was the conflux of people about him. Never did a scare fire at midnight summon more hands to quench it, than this at noonday did eyes to behold it. At last refusing all mercy, he was burned to ashes.'

## VI

## CHEAPSIDE: SAINT PAUL'S: BLACKFRIARS

The Tower at the east, Smithfield at the north, and Whitehall and Westminster at the west were three limits, and at the same time centers of London life. Cheapside, running parallel with the river in the middle of the old walled town, was the show street of the city and the scene of all its pageantry. It was the original market-place, the Saxon chepe, running from Tower Street to Newgate, East Chepe and West Chepe, where all the trade of the city was transacted. In the side streets running from it were the various divisions of the market. Cornhill (the Corn Market), the Poultry, Milk Street, still testify their origin. 'Bread Street,' says Stow, 'so called of bread sold there is now wholly inhabited by rich merchants.' Milton was born in Bread Street in 1608, at the sign of the Spread Eagle, his father's scrivener shop. The famous Mermaid Tavern was between Bread Street and Friday Street, 'beginning also in West Cheap and running down south through Watling Street to Knightrider's Street or Old Fish Street.'

West Cheapside had become Goldsmith's Row in the time of Queen Elizabeth:

'The most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops that be within the walls of London, or elsewhere in England, [is] commonly called Goldsmith's Row, betwixt Bread Street and the Cross in Cheap; the same was built by Thomas Wood, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs of London in 1491. It containeth in number ten fair dwelling houses, and fourteen shops, all in one frame, uniformly built four stories high, beautiful toward the street with the goldsmith's arms, and the likeness of woodmen in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly painted over and gilt.'

Cheapside was the center of the shopping district. Running out of Cheapside were streets of shops devoted to the needs of fashion, as laces, fans, gloves, the resort of the titled and the liveried. The notorious Mrs. Turner, whose shop was the rendezvous of Lady Essex and Sir Robert Carr, first favorite of King James, was a 'starcher' of ruffs and collars and had a shop in Paternoster Row (street of mercers and stationers then, now booksellers), running from Cheapside and bordering the north side of Saint Paul's Churchyard.

'This street before the fire of London was taken up by eminent mercers, silkmen and lacemen: and their shops were resorted unto by the nobility and gentry in their coaches, that oftimes the street was so stopt up by them that there was no passage for foot passengers.'

A good deal of shopping was called for by the elaborate dress of the period, of silk and satin and velvet for both men and women. Even the Puritan's garments were handsome and expensive. John Winthrop's letter to his son in London, March 31, 1628, directed: 'for the stuff of the gowns you may buy it of some olive color or such like. Either let there be several colors, or else the velvet for the capes of several colors.' The poor man dressed in coarse, black woolen cloth, coat, knee breeches and cloak. Neither he nor the rich man wore underclothes or washable nightclothes. A washing tally preserved at Haddon Hall, supposed to be of the time of Charles I, has 'ruffles, bandes, cuffes, "handkercher," caps, shirts, half shirts, boot hose, tops, socks, sheets, pillow cases, tablecloths, napkins, and towels.' Queen Elizabeth slept in velvet lined with fur.

Not only shops but taverns, most important feature of the day, lined the main thoroughfares — east and west between Cornhill and the Strand, and north and south, between the Saint George's Road, Southwark, and Bishopsgate Street without the walls. They were frequented by tradesmen and their customers, transacting business by day: and by societies and convivial clubs for their meetings by night.

'Gentry went to King's Head Tavern
Nobles to the Crown.
Knights went to the Golden Fleece
To the Plough the clown.'

Herrick, in his 'Ode to Ben Jonson' — Jonson 'of the mountain belly and the rocky face,' who knew the taverns of London if any one did! — gives a number of the picturesque tavern names:

'Ah, Ben,
Say how, or when
Shall we, thy guests,

Meet at those lyric feasts
Made at the Sun —
The Dog, the Triple Tunne,
Where we such clusters had,
As made us wholly wild, not mad?
— And yet each verse of thine
Outdid the meat, outdid the frolic wine.'

Jonson, hardy tippler, had favorites; in Shakespeare's heyday, it was the Mermaid, in Cheapside, between Bread and Friday Streets; later in Roger Williams's day, when the tide of pleasure had ebbed westward, it was the Devil in Temple Bar, between Fleet Street and the Strand, where Ben reigned over the wits and gallants in the Apollo Room.

The Devil Tavern was named from its sign of Saint Dunstan pulling the Devil by the nose. The church of Saint Dunstan was across the street, one of the seven churches in the Ward of Farringdon Without. It had a clock with wooden giants who came out to strike the hour. These giant figures, now in Regent's Park, would be well known to Roger Williams, and the spirited picture on the sign of the Devil Tavern. By his own words Jonson made the Swan Tavern in Charing Cross historic, in an impromptu grace before King James:

'Our King and Queen, the Lord God blesse
The Palsgrave and the Lady Besse:
And God blesse every living thing
That lives and breathes and loves the King.
Lord bless the council of estate
And Buckingham the fortunate,
God bless them all and keep them safe
And God bless me and God bless Raph.'

'The king was mighty inquisitive to know who this Rafe [Ralph] was. Ben told him 'twas the drawer at the Swanne Tavern by Charing Cross, who drew him good canarie. For this drollerie his Majestie gave him an hundred pounds.'

Approximately in the center of the triangle of London was Saint Paul's Cathedral; appropriately, as it was the very heart of London life. Its great middle aisle (the church was nearly six hundred feet long) was a city thoroughfare and general promenade, 'the great mart of trade and lounge of fashion.' It was commonly known as Paul's Walk, or Duke Humphrey's Walk, from the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, on the right hand of the great nave, approaching the altar — the only break in this otherwise 'naked piece of architecture.' For more than a century before there were newspapers (the first newspaper was in 1622), it was the common news exchange, the resort of the wits and gallants about town, as well as of servants seeking employment, lawyers and tradesmen making appointments with their customers. It was the best-known channel of the tide of London life. The boy Roger could not but have been well acquainted with it.

Lawyers stood, each at his chosen pillar, and received their clients. In 'St. Paul's Church each lawyer and sergeant at his pillar heard his client's cause and took notes whereof upon his knees, as they do in Guildhall at the day, and after that the sergeant's feast [is] ended, they do still go to Paul's in their habits, there choose their pillar, whereas to hear their client's cause (if any come) in memory of that old custom.' wrote Dugdale in 1680. 'Powles' served as an employment bureau. Servants here advertised for masters, and masters found servants. Falstaff, in 'First Part of Henry V,' says of his servant Bardolph, 'I bought him in Paul's.' The cast of characters of Ben Jonson's 'Every Man in His Humour' includes Captain Bobadil, 'a Paul's man.'

Francis Osborn, writing in 1701, explained:

> 'It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue till these, for the principal gentry, lords and courtiers, and men of all professions not merely mechanic, to meet in St. Paul's Church by eleven, and walk in the middle aisle until twelve; and after dinner, from three to six; during which time some discoursed of business, others of news. Now in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here. And I being young did associate myself at those hours with the choicest company I could pick out.'

Earle's 'Microcosmography,' 1628, says:

'The noise in it [Saint Paul's] is like that of bees, a strange humming or buzz, mixed of walking tongues and feet: it is a kind of roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot.'

The cathedral stood in the midst of Saint Paul's Churchyard, a large enclosure, the south side of which was called the bow, and the northern, the string. In the churchyard were the stationers' shops: from the sign of the White Greyhound, came the first editions of 'Venus and Adonis,' and 'The Rape of Lucrece'; from the Green Dragon, 'The Merchant of Venice'; from the Red Bull, 'Lear.' Saint Paul's School, where John Milton went when Roger Williams was in Charterhouse School, was on the east side of the churchyard. It was a free school, for one hundred and fifty-three boys, founded by Dean Colet, of Saint Paul's, son of Sir Henry Colet, mayor and mercer, and was under the oversight of the Mercers' Company. Here, too, was Paul's Cross, close to the cathedral wall in the northeast corner of the choir, a pulpit cross of timber, mounted on steps of stone, with a conical, lead-covered roof to protect the preacher. The congregation sat or stood in the open air, except in case of rain, when the service was held in the 'shrowds,' the crypt of the church. Carlyle in 'Cromwell,' calls Paul's Cross 'a kind of Times newspaper.'

Here sermons were preached by famous divines each Sunday forenoon. Arithmæus, a visitor to England in 1617, alludes to Paul's Cross, where there is preaching every Sunday, the mayor and two others, clad in their robes and wearing gold chains, attending on horseback. Before this cross Tyndall's translation of the Bible was publicly burnt by the order of Bishop Stokeley: the Pope's sentence on Martin Luther was pronounced from it. Recantations were made here, and the whole controversy between Conformist and Nonconformist, Prelate and Puritan, threshed out in a long succession of sermons by eminent preachers. Royal proclamations were made here, state information published, and public penance done by important offenders. In 1617, Lady Markham, wife of Sir Griffin Markham, stood in a white sheet (and was amerced in a penalty of a thousand pounds) for marrying one of her servants, her husband being still alive. King James came to the Cross to listen to a sermon on the reparation of the cathedral: and King Charles I, on the birth of his son, afterwards Charles II. It may be that young Roger Williams, Puritan, did not mingle with the gay and fashionable throng in Paul's Walk, but it is unthinkable that he was not a frequent listener at Paul's Cross.

Blackfriars, south of Saint Paul's, on the river, once an old monastery, was in Roger Williams's day a fashionable part of the city. In 1609, the Lady Arabella Stuart wrote to Lord Cecil from Puddle Wharf. Here the Countess of Essex had a house to which she was first confined on her release from the Tower. Van Dyck, who painted royalty many times, lodged in Blackfriars; so did Rubens, and Jansen, who painted several portraits of King James and his children, and whose portrait of Milton at ten years was painted for five broad pieces of silver. In 1623, the house of the French Ambassador there adjoined the Hall of the Fatal Vespers. Roger Williams would be greatly interested in that tragedy, when the floor of the hall gave way, and ninety-nine of the three hundred worshipers who had come on Sunday afternoon to hear the Jesuit Father Drury fell to the floor below and were killed. Many Puritans regarded the catastrophe as the mark of the displeasure of an outraged God and as punishment of Papists.

## VII

## PUBLIC PAGEANTS AND SHOWS

During Roger Williams's boyhood the streets of London were the scene of royal pageantry, in 1608, when Henry was made Prince of Wales; in 1613, for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth; and in 1616, when Charles was proclaimed Prince of Wales. The visit of King Christian of Denmark, James's brother-in-law, in July, 1606, was marked by a great public procession like that of a coronation. James's coronation had been quiet, because of the plague then raging in London. Both King and people were glad of the excuse of Denmark's visit for the deferred pageantry. For the procession in honor of King Christian of Denmark, in 1606,

> 'Upon the great fountain in Cheapside, was erected the bower of the muses, and near the pageant, by the Goldsmiths' row, where sat the great elders of the city, in scarlet robes, the Recorder made a solemn oration in Latin, and presented the King of Denmark with a curious cup of massy gold.' 'Several of the conduits ran with wine and at that in Fleet Street was a pleasant pastoral device with songs, wherewith the kings were much delighted.'

It was before Roger's time of notice for such things; he may have made up the loss when the Danish King made a second visit in July, 1614. He was still too young to take great note when Henry, James's oldest son, was made Prince of Wales in May, 1608, and there was a grand pageant on the Thames in which the Merchant Taylors took part. There would have been much talk about it in his home. Henry was the darling of the Puritans, with whom he was in such sympathy that he is reported to have said that when he came to the throne he would protect them and respect their cause. He had his own court at Saint James's Palace, so popular and much frequented that James once said, 'Will he bury me alive?' He had been made a member of the Merchant

Taylors' Company the year before, in July, 1607, at a splendid entertainment at their Hall, at which the King and many of the nobility were present and the King was given a purse of gold.

The marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Protestant Frederick, Elector Palatine (who held one of the seven votes to elect the Emperor of Germany), and afterward King of Bohemia in 1611, was the occasion of princely display and rejoicing, both at Whitehall Palace and at the Guildhall, where there was a grand dinner with the mayor, etc. Many plays were produced at Whitehall; 'Much Ado,' 'Tempest,' 'Winter's Tale,' and 'Moor of Venice.' The cost of the wedding, including the dowry of forty thousand pounds, was a hundred thousand pounds, a considerable strain on the already depleted pocketbook of James. At Christmas time, two years later, the notorious marriage of the King's favorite, the Earl of Somerset, and the Countess of Essex was celebrated before the King and Queen, at Whitehall Palace, with equal magnificence. The whole Court and the whole City took part in the elaborate nuptials: Bacon wrote a masque for the Court; The Merchant Taylors gave a banquet for the City. Roger Williams was a lad of ten, old enough to understand something of the storm of Puritan comment and disapproval of the scandal involved in this court triumph. He would know of the participation of his father's Company in the grand celebration, part of which he would see. Probably he would realize that his father would have to help pay for it. The vivid impression of the gorgeous show, stamped on his young mind, would make the swift following retribution that he was soon to witness all the more terrible — God's judgment and punishment of sin.

This wedding marked the zenith of the career of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, as favorite of King James. His rise was rapid; his fall more so. Carr, or Ker, was a Scot of the well-known family, the Kers of Ferniehurst; he early engaged the royal favor and steadily progressed in it. As a boy he had been a page at the Scottish Court of James. In England, in the service of Lord Hay, he came again into the notice of the King by chancing to break his leg in a tilting match, at which the King was present. James, greatly attracted by the physical activity and personal charm of 'the bonnie blond Scot,' 'with flaxen hair, and on his face yellow of the Sycambrian color,' soon knighted him. Four years later, 1611, he made him Viscount Rochester, conferring upon him an English peerage. The same year he gave thirty-four thousand pounds to six of his courtiers, four of them of Scottish birth. Such lavish distribution of wealth among his Scottish followers during the early years of his reign did much to make James unpopular with his English subjects, increasing their disappointment in him on finding that their hopes for religious toleration were without foundation. His contemptuous treatment of their Millenary Petition was disillusion at the outset. His marked preference for the Scottish Lords was further evidence that his interests were wholly selfish. Young Carr was his chosen companion and advisor, and was rapidly advanced in honors. In 1612, he was the King's private secretary. He became deeply enamoured of the dashing young Countess of Essex, reigning belle of the Court, admired by Prince Henry; and she was equally infatuated with the handsome, haughty youth upon whom James lavished his fatuous favor. But she was wife of the Earl of Essex, to whom she had been married for political reasons when she was but thirteen years old and the young earl fourteen. She was Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, who, with King James's assistance, planned this alliance to unite the two hostile families of the Howards and the Cecils. After the marriage, the young pair were separated and Essex sent to travel on the Continent for three years. On his return he found his wife entirely estranged. She wanted a divorce, and demanded the annulment of the marriage. Carr's intimate friend was Sir Thomas Overbury, who, unlike himself, was well educated, a poet, an Oxford man, and a lawyer of the Inner Temple. Overbury wrote Carr's love letters for him, with great success. He highly approved the picturesque and daring intrigue, but he opposed the illegal divorce. The spoiled and headstrong countess was infuriated. When Overbury was cast into prison for refusing a foreign appointment by the King, who had heard with anger the common report that Rochester ruled the King but Overbury ruled Rochester, she at once began to plot his death by poisoning — which was finally accomplished immediately following the brilliant wedding.

James could deny his favorite nothing. He found his 'Divine Right' convenient to the case, and although the claims of the Countess scandalized even a callous generation, Archbishop Abbot protested in vain. After a four months' trial, James exercised his kingly right to dissolve a marriage and secured her freedom. He then made Rochester Earl of Somerset, that he might not be of rank inferior to his bride. They were married with royal magnificence at Whitehall Palace December 26, 1613, the bride dressed in white, with her dark hair hanging down her back like a maiden's. The elaborate festivities lasted until Twelfth Night. On January 4, 1614, the bride and bridegroom and their train were 'entertained with hearty welcome and feasted with all magnificence' at Merchant Taylors' Hall. These banquets in the City meant gorgeous processions through the streets from Whitehall Palace through Fleet Street, Newgate, and Cheapside, passing near to the end of Cow Lane.

Roger Coke in his 'Detection of the Court of England,' writes:

> 'the bride and bridegroom, attended by the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, and a numerous train of nobility, proceeded in great state to the city. A magnificent entertainment was prepared for them in Merchant Taylors' Hall. The music struck up as they entered, speeches of congratulation were delivered, and the mayor and aldermen came forward in their scarlet gowns to do honor to the

favorite and his bride. At the sumptuous banquet, which followed, they were waited on by the choicest citizens of the twelve Companies. After supper there were plays, masks, and dancing, and late at night the rejoicings were concluded with a second feast. At three o'clock in the morning, the bride and bridegroom returned to Whitehall.'

The following June, Somerset became Lord Privy Seal and in July, Lord Chamberlain. But the triumph of the Somersets was short-lived; the blood of the murdered Overbury cried out for vindication, and they became principals in one of the most famous murder trials of English history. Their secret involved too many people to stay a secret long. It was finally told to Sir Charles Winwood, Secretary of State, who was hostile to Somerset, by Sir Joseph Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower, after Elways had taken too much wine at a dinner at the Earl of Shrewsbury's. In the autumn of 1615, James ordered Chief Justice Coke to examine the charges and to undertake the trial of Overbury's murderers. The accomplices were found and punished first. In November, Mrs. Turner, in whose shop the guilty lovers had had their meetings, was hanged at Tyburn. The following May, both Somersets were put in the Tower, condemned to death. Later, in 1621, James pardoned them and they finished many years of a miserable existence in obscurity, wholly estranged from one another; in the same house, hating one another and counting the triumphs of the new favorite.

These royal parades were but occasional. There were, however, others that were annual. The Lord Mayor's shows, which had been discontinued for some time, were revived by King James in 1609. They took place on November 9 (old style, October 28), when the Mayor, in red robe, furred hood, a golden chain around his neck, with the aldermen and sheriffs and members of the guilds in their liveries, went in state by water to Westminster to take the oath of office; returning by Cheapside to the Guildhall for the banquet. In 1612, James Pemberton, grocer, became Mayor. Roger's mother was a Pemberton; his uncle and godfather was Roger Pemberton; the nine-year-old boy would be interested in the ceremonies of the Mayor Pemberton. On Michaelmas Day, September 29, 1613, the Lord Mayor, Sir James Pemberton, again went in solemn procession to open the new reservoir in Spa Fields, a mile to the north of Smithfield by Saint John Street, near Islington, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of spectators. It marked the completion of the new water-supply secured for London by Sir Hugh Middleton from the New River, from the springs of the Chadwell and the Amwell.

Sad sights, in terrible contrast to the gay scenes of civic or royal shows, were of too frequent occurrence in London streets, when the plague was raging, as it did rage periodically. At the coronation of Charles I, again there was no royal pageantry, on account of the plague, as at the time of the coronation of James I. In 1603, there died thirty thousand, — eight hundred and fifty-seven the very week that James was crowned. In 1625, thirty-five thousand died. Between these years there were occasional ravages of the plague, though less serious ones. In 1636, the fatalities were fewer, something over ten thousand. But in 1665, the total was terrible, between sixty-eight and sixty-nine thousand. Two old tracts, probably the manuscripts from which Defoe took the material for his book, describe the sights young Roger would have opportunity to observe during a time of plague.

The following is from 'The Wonderful Year,' published in 1603: 'Death pitched his tent in the suburbs: the Plague is muster-master and marshal of the field. All who could run away, did run.' Then the plague

'invaded the city. Every house looked like Bartholomew's Hospital; the people drank mithradatum and dragon water all the day long; they stuffed their ears and noses with rue and wormwood. There were no dogs in the streets, for the Plague killed them all; whole families were carried to the grave as if to bed. When servants and prentices were attacked by the disease, they were too often thrust out of doors by their masters to perish in fields, in ditches, in common cages and under stalls. There was general stoppage of trade; there was great suffering among the poor.'

'Vox Civitatis, Lamentation of London under the Plague,' 1625, tells more of the same story:

'London is stricken for her sins; yet there is mercy in the chastisement. The work is a cry of suffering, of pity, of indignation — the workshops closed, change deserted, churches shut, all the better class fled, prentices thrust out to die in the streets, the people with no work and no money, the servants left to guard the warehouses dead; even in Cheapside not a place where one can change a purse of gold. Watling Street like an empty cloister.'

## VIII

## THE PURITANS: CHURCH OF SAINT SEPULCHRE: PRISONS: THE TEMPLE

Between Smithfield on the one hand and the Church of Saint Sepulchre on the other, the routine of Roger Williams's daily life was passed. London was a stage brilliantly set for the pageant of gay court life; but enhancing its high lights were the dark shadows of the somber-clad Puritans, passing to and fro in the streets as they plied their trades, or standing in the crowds in the background, observing, listening, frowning — waiting.

A contemporaneous description of the Puritans was written by one of them, Lucy Hutchinson, in her memoir of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham, one of the revolutionists and a regicide. Mrs. Hutchinson's characterization of the Puritans explains their unpopularity in the profligate court of James I:

'The payment of civil obedience to the king and laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the peace and accordingly persecuted; if any were grieved at the dishonor of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject, by a thousand ways, intended to maintain the riot of the courtiers and the swarm of needy Scots the king had brought in to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritan; if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritan, however he conformed to their superstitious worship; if any showed favor to any godly, honest person, kept their company, relieved them in want or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a Puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritan; in short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry — whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking, derision of the word of God and the like — whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good — all these were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious, factious, hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdom. Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation; as such they made them not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a more solemn sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belched forth profane scoffs upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, and all fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling. While these parties were thus counterworking [Papists and Puritans], the treasure of the kingdom being wasted by court caterpillars, Parliaments were called to re-supply the royal coffers.'

‘The people, loath to lay the miscarriages of things at the king’s own door, began to entertain a universal hatred of the Duke of Buckingham, raised from a knight’s fourth son to that pitch of glory, and enjoying great possessions, acquired by the favour of the king upon no merit but that of his beauty and his prostitution.’

When James died and Charles I came to the throne, matters were not mended for the Puritans.

‘Charles married a Papist, a French lady of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this means the court was replenished with Papists and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion. All the Papists in the kingdom were favored, and, by the king’s example, matched into the best families; the Puritans, more than ever discountenanced and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreign soil or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enjoy the free exercise of God’s worship. Such as could not flee were tormented in the bishop’s courts, fined, whipped, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient sufferance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduced to perfect slavery.’

### SAINT SEPULCHRE’S

The cradle of Roger’s religious life was not Saint Paul’s, the haunt of trade and fashion, but the Church of Saint Sepulchre, not far from it. London was full of churches. The Ward of Farringdon Without, of which Cow Lane was a part, had seven: Saint Sepulchre’s, without Newgate, sometimes called Saint Pulcher’s, Saint Andrew’s in Oldbourne (Holborn), Saint Dunstan’s in the West, Saint Bartholomew’s, by the Priory, Saint Bartholomew’s, the Hospital, Saint Bridget’s (or Bride’s) in Fleet Street, and Saint

Parnell's, in the Temple (for the students). Saint Sepulchre's was but a little way from the end of Cow Lane — up Snow Hill to Newgate. It was obliquely across the way from Newgate Prison in the Old Bailey, just outside the precincts of the old walled city. It was a Puritan stronghold. Here Roger was bountifully nourished with the strong food of religious protest. His family went to Saint Sepulchre's; his father and mother were buried there and left money in their wills for the poor of the parish. There, too, was the tomb of Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth.

Saint Sepulchre's was the largest of the London churches, and one of the oldest. It was one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty-two wide — eighty-one wide, including the Chapel of Saint Stephen. Although it was terribly injured in the Great Fire of 1666, it was not entirely destroyed — being 'very much damnified, only the outward walls and tower being left standing.' The ardent parishioners were in such a hurry to restore it that they could not wait for the assistance of Sir Christopher Wren, whose task of rebuilding London was a colossal one, but did it themselves, and did it badly. Various restorations since then still preserve some relics of the old building, which date from the twelfth century, when the ancient church of the knights of the rule of Saint Augustine, founded in 1100, was given to the prior and canons of Saint Bartholomew the Great, in Smithfield, by Roger, Bishop of Sarum (Salisbury). It was mentioned in the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas in 1291.

Two things, besides its size, distinguished Saint Sepulchre's from other London churches: its proximity to the prison of Newgate and its activities therewith, and its famous chime of bells.

'About the raigne of Henry the Sixt sixe belles in a tune were sold to the parish of S. Sepulchre's from the church of S. Bartholomew,' says Stow. These bells of Saint Sepulchre's are famous among the Merry Bells of London, according to the old jingle, where it is called Old Bailey, from the street on which it stood, opposite the debtors' prison, also called the Old Bailey for the same reason:

'Gay go up and gay go down
To ring the bells of London town.

. . . . . . . .

'Kettles and pans,
Say the bells at Saint Anne's.

'You owe me five farthings,
Say the bells of Saint Martin's.

'When will you pay me?
Say the bells at Old Bailey [Saint Sepulchre's].

'When I grow rich,
Say the bells at Shoreditch.

'Pray when will that be?
Say the bells at Stepney.

'I'm sure I don't know,
Says the great bell at Bow.'

Bells were a conspicuous feature of London life. Londoners loved them — loved noise. Bell-ringing was one of the favorite sports — mentioned in King James's 'Book of Sports' in 1617. Hentzner, a jurist of Brandenburg, who traveled in England, France, Italy, and Germany in 1598, wrote in his 'Journal of Travel':

'The English are vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise.'

The great bell of the Tower of Westminster, Great Tom, struck every hour 'to give notice to the judges how time passeth; when the wind is south-southwest, it may be heard unto any part of London, and commonly it presageth wet weather.'

Ben Jonson writes 'of loud Sepulchre's with their hourlyknells.' The tolling of Saint Pulcher's bells marked the execution of criminals at Tyburn. A tablet, preserved in the church, gives a list of charitable donations, including that of Robert Dowes, merchant tailor of London, in 1605, who gave a 'competent maintenance forever' unto Saint Sepulchre's Parish for the tolling of the great bell and for finding some divine to come to the prison of Newgate the midnight before execution and there to ring a hand bell and put the prisoners in mind of their approaching end, as followeth:

'All you that in the condemned hold do lie,
Prepare you, for to-morrow you shall die;
Watch all, and pray, the hour is drawing near,
That you before the Almighty must appear;
Examine well yourselves, in time repent,
That you may not to eternal flames be sent.
And when Saint Sepulchre's bell to-morrow tolls,
The Lord have mercy on your souls —
Past twelve o'clock!'

In Munday's 1618 edition of Stow's 'Survey,' the comment on the above, showing the mental bias of Roger's boyhood, is:

'he (the clarke of the church) ringing certain tolls with a handbell, appointed for the purpose; he doth afterward (in a most Christian manner) put them in mind of their present condition, and ensuing execution, desiring them to be prepared therefore as they ought to be. When they are in the cart, and brought before the wall of the church, there he standeth ready with the same bell, and after certain tolls, rehearseth an appointed prayer, desiring all the people there present to pray for them. The Beedle also of Merchant Taylor's Hall hath an honest stipend allowed him to see that this is duly done.'

The prayer, in Sir Richard Baker's 'Chronicle' of 1643 ran thus:

'All good people pray heartily unto God for these poor sinners, who are now going to their death, for whom this great bell doth toll. You that are condemned to die, repent, with lamentable tears, etc.... Lord, have mercy upon you.'

It was the custom also at one time to present a nosegay to every criminal on his way to Tyburn. One famous criminal wore his in his buttonhole, when he was on the gallows to be hanged. Young Roger Williams heard the bells of Saint Sepulchre's tolling for executions as well as ringing the hours of day and the services of the church.

In 1600, so soon before his birth that the tradition of it must have been bright in Roger Williams's youth, there was a suicide without warning of bell at Saint Sepulchre's. 'Dorrington, rich Dorrington, yesterday morning went up to Saint Sepulchre's steeple and threw himself over the battlements and broke his neck.' He was William Dodington, brother of Sir Francis Walsingham, who, 'upon sight of certain depositions, touching a cause in controversy between him and one Brunker in Chancery,' 'wilfully brake his neck.' Bacon commented on this event to Queen Elizabeth: 'If I do break my neck, I shall do it in a manner as Mr. Dodington did it, which walked on the battlements of the church many days and took a view and survey where he should fall.'

The church of Saint Sepulchre had its own martyr. Its rector, John Rogers, was sent to the stake by Bloody Mary in 1555 along with some two hundred and seventy others who met that fate during her five-year reign. With Bradford he had assisted Bourne to escape from the rage of the populace at Paul's Cross. In Roger's time, in 1628, Nathaniel Bernard, a lecturer at Saint Sepulchre's, suffered like persecution for his teachings. The Puritan Prynne later in 1640 was 'roughly handled' in the Old Palace Yard by order of the High Commission, his ears cut off, his nose slit, his cheeks branded 'S.S.,' Sower of Sedition, for writing his book 'Histriomastix,' a fanatical attack upon the stage and actors. (In it was a statement, 'women actors notorious whores' — and the virtuous Queen of Charles I had lately taken part in a masque!) Prynne, in his later book, 'Canterbury's Doome' (1646), thus gives the story of Bernard, a lecturer at Saint Sepulchre's:

'Nathaniel Barnard at Antholin's Church May 3, 1629, used this expression in his prayer before sermon: "Oh, Lord, open the eyes of the Queen's Majestie that she may see Jesus Christ whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition and idolatry."... This Archbishop, then of London [Laud], was presently informed of this passage, attested by Walter Kirby, an attorney of Bernard's Inn, John Brown of Durham, minister, and some others; whereupon the bishop brought him into the High Commission, where, after long attendance upon his submission, the ensuing order was framed.... Jan. 28, 1629 Bernard appeared, was tried, confessed and submitted; his submission, being a young scholar and a student of divinity was accepted, and upon his majesty's approbation he was pardoned.... Not long after his submission he was dismissed the Court, after which, repairing to the University of Cambridge to visit his friends he fortuned to preach at St. Marie's Church there on 6 of May, 1632, in the afternoon; wherein he let fall divers passages concerning preaching, the purity of God's ordinances, worship, and against the introducers of Popery and Arminianism, which this bishop's creatures excepted against and speedily informed him off. Dr. T. Cumber, then Vice-Chancellor, informs him [Laud] of this sermon in a letter of his, May 22, 1632, wherein he writes in this manner: "I cannot but further advertise your lordship in a word that here was one Mr. Barnard, a discontinuer and a preacher, who uttered some offensive words concerning some ceremonies and rites used in some churches in a sermon of his at St. Marie's, and as I have heard in some other church before, I gave a decree to the Beedle to convent him, but he could not be found." To which the bishop returned this answer, written with Mr. Dell's hand, and thus endorsed, May 27, 1630: "A clause of my letter to Dr. Cumber concerning Mr. Bernard [a letter promising to find Bernard and bring him to judgment]."'

Archbishop Laud, having cited the Reverend Mr. Bernard before the High Commission, 'required him to make an open recantation of what he had said,' which his conscience not suffering him to do,

> 'he was suspended his ministry, excommunicated, fined a thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suits, and committed to New Prison, where he lay sundry months, being most barbarously used and almost starved for want of necessaries; of which he complained to the bishop by sundry letters and petitions found in his study with Mr. Bernard's sermon, and the information against him (endorsed with the bishop's own hand and produced at the bar) but could find no relief unless he would make this ensuing recantation, sent to him by the bishop and thus endorsed with his own pen; "September 1, 1632. A copy of a recantation tendered to Mr. Bernard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, about a sermon preached at Cambridge. He refused this recantation."'

Neal, in his 'History of the Puritans,' thus concludes the story of Bernard:

> 'So that in conclusion he was utterly ruined.... These lecturers [like Bernard] were chiefly Puritans, who not being satisfied with a full conformity, so as to take upon them a cure of souls, only preached in the afternoons, being chosen and maintained by the people. They were strict Calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and distinguished themselves by a rigid observance of the Lord's-day, by a bold opposition to Popery and the new ceremonies, and by an uncommon severity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the bishop a distaste to sermons, who was already of the opinion that they did more harm than good, insomuch that on a fast day for the plague then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all churches, but not a sermon to be preached, lest the people should wander from their own parishes. The lecturers had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Bishop Laud would often say "They were the most dangerous enemies of the state, because by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people's disaffection and therefore must be suppressed."'

Good old Archbishop Abbot was of another spirit, but the reins were taken out of his hand. He had a good opinion of the lecturers, as men who had the Protestant religion at heart, and would fortify their hearers against the return of Popery. When Mr. Palmer, lecturer of Saint Alphage in Canterbury, was commanded to desist from preaching by the Archdeacon, because he drew great numbers of factious people after him and did not wear the surplice, the Archbishop authorized him to continue. 'But in the diocese of London, Bishop Laud proceeded with the utmost severity. Many lecturers were put down, and such as preached against Arminianism or the new ceremonies were suspended and silenced; among them were the Rev. Mr. Hooker, of Chelmford, famous later in New England, Mr. White, of Knightsbridge,... and many others.'

Thomas Gouge, rector of Saint Sepulchre's in 1638, was 'deprived' for nonconformity — almost a hundred years after his famous predecessor, John Rogers, was burned at the stake in Smithfield for the same charge, thus continuing the Saint Sepulchre's tradition of Puritan protest. Pepys made an entry in his 'Diary,' August 10, 1662, in reference to the nonconforming of Thomas Gouge: 'My uncle Fenner told me that the new service booke (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their desk at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. George to read; but he laid it aside and would not meddle with it.'

Many lectures and sermons Roger Williams heard at the Church of Saint Sepulchre. Some of them he took down in shorthand. Here the twig of his religious beliefs was bent. As he wrote many years later in his 'Epistle to the Quakers':

> 'From my childhood, now above three score years, the Father of Lights and Mercies, touched my soul with a love to Himself, to His only-begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to His Holy Scriptures, etc.'

In the fertile soil of his naturally religious nature, the seed of Puritan doctrine developed and ripened into the strong convictions of his manhood.

## PRISONS

The prisons of London were a part of Roger Williams's daily observation. The Fleet Prison, Newgate, Ludgate and the Tower supplied London well. They were all, except the Tower, situated in the same ward in which he lived. Newgate was across the way from Saint Sepulchre's Church; Ludgate adjoined Newgate, at the other end of the Old Bailey; and Fleet Street, running from Ludgate to the Strand, was the highway for the world of fashion going from Saint Paul's to Westminster. Of the prisoners in the Tower, Roger would know only by hearsay. But they were of such notable character or prominence — Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Overbury, the Earl and Countess of Somerset — that the condition and progress of their case would be well known to Londoners. Newgate Prison, originally for both felons and debtors, is mentioned in the 'First Part of Henry IV,' Act III, Sc. 3:

'*Falstaff*. How now, lad! is the wind in that door, i' faith? Must we all march?

'*Bardolph*. Yes, two and two, Newgate-fashion.'

On February 24, 1621, Sir Francis Mitchell was sent on foot and bareheaded to the Tower, on account of his patent for ale-houses. He was a justice of Middlesex and had a salary of forty pounds a year from Newgate Prison, on condition that he send all his prisoners there. Ludgate Prison, in the reign of Richard II, was appropriated to the freemen of the city and to clergymen committed 'for debts, trespass accounts and contempts.'

The Fleet was on the opposite side of the stream, 'a prison where poor debtors (since the time of Norman kings) mingle with many prisoners of greater note, sent thither by warrant from the Star Chamber, maltreated by greedy warders bent upon extorting large fees, and huddled into filthy chambers, with no couch for their weary limbs, accustomed to purple and fine linen, but pallets of rotting straw.' In 1601, William

Herbert was prisoner there on account of a liaison with one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honor. In 1610, 'the last widow Lady Dorset found the way into the Fleet again, where she lay six or seven days, for pressing into the Privy Chamber, and importuning the King contrary to commandment,' wrote Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood. Again, in 1613, 'Sir Robert Killigrew was yesterday committed to the Fleet from the Council Table, for having some little speech with Sir Thomas Overbury, who called to him as he passed by his window as he came from visiting Sir Walter Raleigh.'

Newgate was the prison for felons: Ludgate for debtors; the Fleet for both. Newgate, Ludgate, and the Fleet prisoners were not beyond the sight and sound of passers-by. They were allowed to stand at the gates and beg or sell their little manufactures; or to accomplish the purpose by letting down baskets from the upper windows after they had accosted successfully persons passing in the street. For they had to pay their jailers exorbitantly for what infinitesimal comfort there was to be found in those infamous dens. They were herded together like cattle — or much worse — criminals, debtors, and religious offenders, men, women, and children, in a single room, in unspeakable discomfort and filth. Disease and vice and crime bred prolifically in such advantageous surroundings. Bacon described the jail fever as 'the most pernicious infection, next to the Plague, whereof we have had in our time experiences twice or thrice, when both the judges that sat upon the jail, and numbers of those who attended the business, or were present, sickened and died.' The neglect and cruelty of the London prisons were a scandal that continued in some degree to comparatively modern times and sharpened the pen of pamphleteer and novelist alike. Dickens has taken us to call on Mr. Micawber in the debtors' prison.

Torture was the frequent, if not inevitable, accompaniment of incarceration for prisoners of state. They were given a chance to recant under the persuasive influence of the rack, the manacles, the branding-irons. The Tower was well supplied with various kinds of instruments of torture. While the prisoner was on the rack, his examination and trial were carried on and his words and answers recorded. There remain on record books of testimony taken down by Sir Edward Coke in his own hand. Newgate was famous for its press-yard. Prisoners who refused to plead were pressed to death. The press was a simple device of two great stones, one suspended above the other to be let down gradually until life was pressed out of the victim placed between them. It was a comparatively slow process; it took eight minutes for Major Strangeways, murderer of John Frussell, the spectators throwing stones at his prostrate body. The prisoner had plenty of time to confess. Plenty of time — and plenty of reason!

Punishment was a public affair in those days, and a common sight during the boyhood of Roger Williams. There was none of the decent privacy of the electric chair. Felony was punished by hanging; forgery, cheating, etc., by the pillory; petty larceny by whipping or the loss of an ear; drunkenness by the stocks. Such citizens as failed of the privilege of witnessing a great execution might see the heads of the traitors stuck upon poles on London Bridge; or their quarters distributed in different sections of the city for greater facility of inspection. The stocks, simplest of all the forms of punishment, were favorably located in public places, as by the great Cross in Cheap. The torture the Indians sometimes inflicted on their captives, and their display of the scalps of their victims, had their counterpart simultaneously in civilized England. The stern, godly Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony believed in punishment as they had known it in England. Roger Williams's tolerance and compassion in later life are the more noteworthy thereby.

## THE TEMPLE

Next to the Fleet and in the Ward of Farringdon Without were the buildings and the gardens of the Temple — the temple of the Law — the Inns of Court, the lodgings and schools of lawyers. The older members were called 'Benchers' and governed the societies. Two others, Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn, with the Inner and Middle Temple, had by custom the exclusive right of calling to the bar. The Temple played a conspicuous part in London life, important both to Court and trade. There were two inns or schools, the Middle Temple and the Inner Temple, with the Temple Church between, and the Gardens extending down toward the river. According to Shakespeare's 'Henry VI,' Act II, Sc. 4, in the Temple gardens grew the red and white roses of Lancaster and York, where they were first assumed as badges of the rival houses. The Temple was originally the London lodge of the Knights Templars in the twelfth century. The Round of the Temple Church, which is the west part without the choir with its great Norman pillars, was the rendezvous of lawyers and their gallant clients from the Strand, making it a miniature Paul's Walk:

> 'Here's one from Captain Fall, sir,
> Desires you meet him in the Temple Church,
> Some half hour hence, and upon earnest business';[1]

'... And for advice twixt him and us he had made choice of a lawyer, a mercer and a merchant, who that morning were appointed to meet him in the Temple Church.'[2]

Sir Edward Coke, Roger Williams's friend and patron, was a member of the Inner Temple. He lived there, the years of his study for the bar, and he lodged in Sergeants' Inn, Chancery Lane, which led out of the Temple northward toward Holborn, while he was trying cases later — as of the murderers of Overbury — and needed to live in the City. During the youth of Roger Williams, Chancery Lane and Cow Lane were in the same ward, and not far apart. Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn were inns of court and lawyers' quarters of later foundation than the Temple, and lying northward of it. Bacon was a member of Gray's Inn.

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[1] Ben Jonson: *The Alchemist.*

[2] Middleton: *Father Hubbard's Tales.*

Number 17 Fleet Street, opposite Chancery Lane, adjoining the Inner Temple, has been restored, the façade of 1611 being reproduced as faithfully as possible. It is a good example of a fine seventeenth-century half-timbered house, with inside paneling and elaborate Jacobean ceilings, with the crest in the center. On the first floor is Prince Henry's room, believed to have been the council chamber of the Duchy of Cornwall under Henry, eldest son of James I.

## IX

## HIGH LIGHTS IN PUBLIC LIFE: THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Most often in the center of the stage of London in Roger Williams's youth was the glittering figure of the Duke of Buckingham. All of the steps of his rise to power must have been noted by Roger Williams, who was only some ten years younger. King James (according to the Duc de Sully, the French contemporary observer, 'the wisest fool in Christendom') was an insignificant figure, a proper foil for his magnificent favorite. Though he many times insisted upon his pet particular policy, the 'Divine Right' of kings, the long-suffering people, predisposed to loyalty at any cost, preferred to lay the blame for his tyranny and his political blunders upon the shoulders of his minion. The favorite, in the end, paid the price of his royal master's folly with his life, at the hands of an assassin. Strikingly handsome, brilliantly accoutered, of gracious mien, unfailing good-nature and easy kindliness, with infinite resources in the pursuit of pomp and pleasure, he was a figure to capture not only the unstinted approval of the weak James, but the admiring imagination of posterity.

After the fall of Somerset, the cloak of power fell swiftly upon the shoulders of the new favorite, who was to last through James's reign and become even more firmly entrenched in that of Charles. James, though learned — he had been crammed with knowledge by his tutor, the Scottish historian Buchanan — had been educated beyond his capacity for wisdom. He could converse in Latin with a foreign ambassador, but he had the common vice of the illiterate — that of signing his name to any paper put before him without reading it. He was untidy in person, gross by immoderation in food and drink, always vulgar in his tastes, and though moral in his own family life, indulgent toward flagrant immorality at Court. Charles, the opposite extreme, sponsor of personal refinement and generous patron of the arts, was more congenial to the truly elegant Duke of Buckingham. They were more nearly contemporaries, too, and companions in youth and growing honors. Charles's Court was almost as strict in morality as that of Cromwell, Charles himself setting the example of a proper life to his courtiers. Milton speaks of Shakespeare as 'the closet companion of Charles's solitudes.'

The rise of George Villiers from comparative insignificance to the highest place in the kingdom was meteoric. Of gentle birth and polite education in France, he was placed, by a designing, clever mother, in the range of the King's vision. The royal eye was always captivated by beauty, and at the moment, 1615, was wandering from his favorite, Robert Carr, the arrogant, handsome Scot, who had become moody and depressed and much less entertaining since his marriage and his high advancement. Carr was unpopular, too, among the nobles; among some because of his Catholic sympathies, and among others because of the huge bribes he demanded for preferments. These enemies of Somerset, who resented the abundance of power he had taken into his hands, assisted young Villiers's entrance into court life.

At first, his position was but that of cup-bearer to the King. Soon, however, on Saint George's Day, 1615, he became one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. He had a fertile brain and lively humor; with the help of the King's jesters, Archie Armstrong and David Drooman, he ably provided the nightly entertainment and buffoonery that were the delight of the monarch. Once they had a young pig dressed up like a baby; but then James was displeased instead of pleased, for pigs and tobacco were his pet aversions. On Saint George's Day of the next year, the favorite was made a Knight of the Garter. His gifts and grace found such further favor and were rewarded by such rapid promotion that he climbed to the top rung of the ladder in the short space of seven years. In 1620, he married Katharine Manners, daughter of the Duke of Rutland, a beautiful and lovely woman, the richest heiress in the kingdom, who changed her religion from Catholic to Protestant to marry him. Their first child was a daughter (born on March 22), named Jacobina, after the King. 'Never any man in any age,' says Clarendon, 'nor I believe in any country rose in so short time to so much greatness of honor, power, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than of the beauty or gracefulness of his person.' Once, referring to him, James said, 'Christ had his John; I have my George.' He wrote a 'Meditation on the Lord's Prayer' addressed to Buckingham.

The young favorite was the special companion of Prince Charles — Baby and Steenie, James called them. Villiers gained the nickname, it is said, from his supposed resemblance to Saint Stephen. His final title, Duke of Buckingham, was conferred upon him when he was in Spain in 1623, whither he had gone with the young Prince of Wales on a romantic journey, to woo the Infanta and her dowry of two millions, much needed to fill the dwindling coffers of James. They went *incognito* and alone, riding through England and France as Mr. John Smith and Mr. Thomas Smith — romance again. They carried and received many magnificent presents and stayed many months negotiating. The young royal couple were not allowed to meet except in public: and, although great concessions were made to conciliate Catholic Spain, the visitors were delayed and delayed until it was finally borne in upon Charles that nothing less than complete allegiance to the Church of Rome would satisfy the Pope through the Spanish King, Philip IV, and that their mission was in vain. Their return on October 5, 1623, was the signal for great rejoicing on the part of the people, who had hated the idea of a Spanish alliance.

'The Bells of London rang. The Strand and streets were filled with people to see the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham on their way to Royston to the king. At the Debtors' Prison the inmates were given gold instead of bread. A crowd of felons on the way to Tyburn were pardoned. Merchant princes gave free banquets in the streets. Every window had a candle. There were bonfires and people dancing in the streets.'

When in 1625 an alliance had been made with Henrietta Maria, a French princess, Buckingham went to France as proxy for the wedding. A princely wardrobe had been ordered, all of which was not used, however, on account of the death of James.

'His Grace hath for his body twenty-seven rich suits, embroidered and laced with silk and silver plushes, besides one rich white satten uncut velvet suit, set all over both suit and cloak with diamonds; which suit His Grace intends to enter Paris with; the other rich suit is of purple satin embroidered all over with rich orient pearls, the cloak made after the Spanish fashion with all things suitable; the value thereof shall be twenty-thousand pounds; and this is thought shall be for the wedding day in Paris. His other suits are rich as invention can frame, or art fashion. His colors for the entrance are white and matchet, and for the wedding crimson and gold.'

In 1626, Buckingham was living at York House in the Strand 'in almost kingly magnificence.' When he acquired the house after the fall of the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, he had it splendidly made over, 'with walls covered with huge panes of glass [mirrors].' Here he entertained the

Marquis de Bassompierre, ambassador extraordinary of Louis XIII of France. Of Thursday, October 8, Bassompierre wrote: 'Towards night, I went to see the Duke of Buckingham at his residence called Yorshaux, which is extremely fine and was the most richly fitted up than any other that I saw. Every chamber was adorned with the arms of Villiers and Manners, lions and peacocks.' On Sunday, November 15, Buckingham gave a dinner and a masque afterward, at the cost of five thousand pounds, which Bassompierre reported as 'the most magnificent entertainment I ever saw in my life.'

York House contained the wonderful collection of paintings and antiques that Buckingham had bought for one hundred thousand florins from Rubens's home, a collection 'more like that of a prince than a private gentlemen,' with nineteen Titians, three Raphaels, three da Vincis, seventeen Tintorettos, thirteen Paul Veroneses and thirteen Rubenses. The Water Gate which he built on the river Thames still bears witness to Buckingham's occupancy of York House.

On May 8, 1626, he was made Chancellor of Cambridge: on July 12, in the gardens at York House, he entertained the Vice-Chancellor and Masters of the College of Cambridge, the Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Arts and Proctors, who came in solemn procession to announce his election. Roger Williams may have been among them. In February, Charles had had to summon Parliament and demand huge sums of money to pay his vast expenses. Parliament chose to blame Buckingham for their troubles and impeached him, February 2, 1626. On June 8, Buckingham ably and with persuasive dignity defended himself in the House of Lords, and Charles dissolved the Parliament that demanded his favorite's removal and refused to grant money to the King.

Then came the disastrous expedition to the aid of Protestant Rochelle against Catholic France, ignorantly and stupidly organized, expensive and futile. But Buckingham showed qualities of courage and unselfish coöperation with his men that win a respect which cannot be given to his political judgment. It was at Portsmouth, as he was about to start on a second expedition, that he was stabbed by Felton. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in the Chapel of Henry VII, with Elizabeth and James I.

The Puritan Williams would not approve of the court favorite. But he would know the details of the great duke's life. His was the figure that represented the extravagance and luxury of the King and the Court, at the expense of the people. For Buckingham was a great courtier, but not a statesman at all. He understood kings and princes and their desires; but he had no comprehension of the needs of the people, although, as Bacon confessed to King James, 'I know he has the best tutor in Europe.' He was a prince of courtiers, a generous man, always ready to distribute the plums to his friends. He was quite as steadfast in adherence to his standards and ideals as his opposite in the limelight, Sir Edward Coke, the people's figurehead. Neither took bribes — in contrast to Francis Bacon, who united the types of both men, and was both courtier and statesman, and was impeached for bribery and corruption after a short season of power. Buckingham was not a bad man; nor a weak one. He was the scapegoat.

The Duke of Buckingham was the center of the dazzling group of young nobles that attracted the eyes of the world to the Court of James. James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, was perhaps its most conspicuous spendthrift. When he was sent to France in 1616, on a mission of state, he carried a resplendent train. He rode through the streets to the palace of the Louvre on a richly caparisoned horse, shod with silver. So lightly were the shoes nailed on that when the horse was made to prance before some group of notable onlookers, noble ladies or the like, one shoe would come off and be thrown away among the gaping crowd of bystanders. The argentier-farrier would hurry forward with his tawny velvet bag of silver shoes and put on another, to be shed with equal facility at the next favorable opportunity — giving the handsome rider and his gayly liveried retainers time to be sufficiently admired.

### The Earl of Pembroke

William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, was the admirable leader of the circle that patronized art and letters, the stage and fashionable sport. In 1601, he succeeded his father and lived till 1630, when his brother Philip succeeded him. They were 'the incomparable pair of brethren' of Heminge and Condell's preface to the First Folio of Shakespeare. According to Clarendon:

'William, Earl of Pembroke, had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever wickedness to avow himself to be his enemy. After Somerset's fall, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the king's house. He was exceedingly beloved in court. He was a great lover of his country and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it.'

His father sponsored one of the companies of actors, the Earl of Pembroke's Men. His mother was a patron of letters, and subject of Ben Jonson's 'Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke':

'Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother —
Death, ere thou shalt slay another
Fair and wise and good as she
Time shall throw a dart at thee.'

His home, Baynard's Castle, given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earls of Pembroke, was in Blackfriars, a fashionable part of London.

Blackfriars was the part of London most frequented by William Shakespeare. There were twenty theaters in London in the time of James I: only two or three in that of Charles II. Richard Burbage had a theater near Baynard's Castle in

1575, in which Shakespeare was part owner; it was the winter theater of the company, the King's Men. One of the scenes in 'Henry VIII' is laid in a hall in Blackfriars. His summer theater was the Globe, in Southwark, where his brother Edmond, 'a player,' was buried in 1607, according to the parish register of Saint Saviour's. William Shakespeare once lived in Carter Lane, Blackfriars: and in his later days he bought a house near Puddle Dock. In his will of 1616 is the following:

> 'I give and bequeath and devise unto my daughter Susannah Hall all that messuage or tenements with the appurtenances wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, scituate, lying and being in the Blackfriars in London, near the Wardrobe.'

Shakespeare's early patron, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, lived on the Holborn Road, out Snow Hill, past Cow Lane. In 1617, James I ordered Yelverton, his Attorney-General, to prepare a bill confirming certain privileges to Henry, Earl of Southampton, and to extend the liberties of Southampton House from Holborn Bars to the Rolls in Chancery Lane. From the time of Elizabeth the stricter Puritans frowned on the stage and the drama in all its forms, a disapproval that reached its climax in Prynne's 'Histriomastix,' the 'Player's Scourge or Actor's Tragedy,' in 1632. It is doubtful if young Roger Williams ever went to the theater or saw Shakespeare 'on the boards,' but he well may have seen his familiar figure on the London streets, between Holborn Bridge and Blackfriars.[1]

### SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Sir Walter Raleigh was a conspicuous personage in the time of James I, although his fame is part of the greatness of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He never lost his dream of finding an Eldorado for England on the other side of the Atlantic. His expeditions and adventures resulted in the planting of several unsuccessful colonies in the New World.

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[1] In the London Museum a set of models of Old London Streets and buildings, by Mr. John B. Thorp, who, in making them, had access to the most reliable old records, give a true and vivid picture of the London of Roger Williams, of St. Paul's, Cheapside, London Bridge, Blackfriars, Puddle Dock, Bridewell, Baynard's Castle.

The first, in 1585, of seven ships and one hundred and eight men, under Ralph Lane, settled at Roanoke Island, but after a year of hardship they were picked up and carried back to England by Drake, on the return of one of his voyages. This was the expedition that carried back tobacco, introducing it into England. In 1587, Raleigh's second colony, of one hundred and fifty — seventeen of whom were women — went to Roanoke Island, under John White. Virginia Dare, White's granddaughter, born August 15, was the first English child born in America. But White soon had to go back to England; and on account of the war with Spain, no vessel could visit the colony for three years, during which time it entirely disappeared. The failure of these early colonies to survive was largely due to the fact that the colonists were mostly worthless adventurers seeking wealth in the new country that had been exploited by Spain. Before the defeat of the Armada, Spain was the richest and most powerful of the nations of Europe. The amount of Mexican and Peruvian gold looted by the Spanish has been estimated at five billion dollars, a sum which inflamed the imagination and roused the cupidity of many English soldiers of fortune. Captain John Smith wrote of the Jamestown Colony:

> 'We had by far too many gentlemen adventurers amongst us, and, of a necessity, some of these must needs be not quite all one could wish as reliable comrades. Out of our 100 colonists, there were fifty-two gentlemen adventurers, besides Master Robert Hunt, the preacher, and Masters Thomas Wolton and William Wilkinson, the chirurgeons.... The rent we were to pay our Soverain Lord King James was one-fifth of all the gold and silver we might get from the mines, which we, in our ignorance, did fancy existed in great plenty, and

one-fifteenth of all the copper. I never heard that his Majesty's treasury did ever benefit from our gold and silver mines, but there hath been no voyage of discovery to America but that these said mines have figured hugely in the brains of those who did propose them; as Tacitus in his *Vita Agricola* Saith "Omne ignotum pro magnifico est," we all thought wonderful things of what we knew not of, yet were we well aware of the great riches seen by Pizarro, Cortez and Hernandez de Soto.'

'Hakluyt's Voyages,' published in 1600, probably further stimulated interest in colonization.

In 1606, King James granted all the territory in North America between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude to be equally divided between the London Company and the Plymouth Company, merchant adventurers. In 1607, the London Company, with Captain Newport, Governor Wingfield, Captain John Smith, and others, founded Jamestown. For two years the new colony struggled hard to survive; and it succeeded only at the last moment of endurance, when Lord de la Warr met the remains of the colony as they were in the act of leaving it. De la Warr had been appointed Governor of Virginia in 1609, and had sailed with nine ships, five hundred men and women, and provisions for a year, but had been delayed by storms. The five hundred men left by Captain Smith had been reduced by starvation to sixty. The succeeding year, De la Warr sent Governor Dale, who abolished the communism under which the young colony was existing, gave each old settler three acres of land, and by other wise administration established the plantation on a permanent basis. In 1624, Virginia became a royal colony.

Tobacco was the chief product of the colony. In 1616, every farmer raised it. It was used as money, the minister and public officers being paid in tobacco. But the colony was always a disappointment to the founders, the London Company — the Virginia Company in the second charter — who wanted gold instead of tobacco. Gold was the chief end of these commercial companies. Captain John Smith, at the close of the story of one of his voyages, said:

> 'Therefore, honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word "fish" distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.'

To Sir Walter Raleigh, London was indebted for the introduction of tobacco, which had a tremendous popularity. Strangely enough, James, though deeply addicted to strong drink, didn't like tobacco. Sir John Harrington, when on a mission to James, wrote to Sir Amyas Paulet, 'His Majesty much asked concerning my opinion of the new weed tobacco and said it would by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain and that no learned man ought to taste it and wished it forbidden.' James wrote a 'Counterblaste to Tobacco,' in which he said if he were to invite the Devil to dinner, he would give him three dishes, a pig, a poll of ling and mustard, and a pipe of tobacco to aid digestion.

In 1627, John Winthrop, of Groton in Suffolk, wrote to his son John Winthrop, Jr. (both of whom were close friends of Roger Williams in New England), at the house of his Uncle Downing, near the conduit in Fleet Street:

> 'We want a little tobacco. I had very good at 7*s.* a pound, at a grocer's by Holborn Bridge. There be two shops together. It was at that which is farthest from the bridge, toward the Conduit. If you tell him it is for him that bought half a pound of Verina and a pound of Virginia of him last term, he will use you well. Send me half a pound of Virginia.'

Barnaby Rich, in 'Honesty of This Age,' was told that there were as many as seven thousand shops in and about London where tobacco was sold. Even women and children smoked. At Cambridge, in Milton's time, which was Roger's time, its use was well-nigh universal. Hentzner, the German traveler, reported the excessive use of tobacco:

> 'At these spectacles [Saint Bartholomew's Fair] and everywhere else the English are constantly smoking tobacco in this manner. They have pipes on purpose, made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder; and putting fire to it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, along with plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head.'

The ship Lyon, on which Roger Williams came to America, brought in her cargo a goodly amount of tobacco, and in 1638, after he was in Providence, Roger was much exercised over the loss of a shipment to him of a quantity of tobacco among other necessaries and luxuries.

All through Roger's boyhood, Sir Walter Raleigh was in prison in the Tower, writing his 'History of the World,' making his experiments in chemistry, and planning his ill-fated expedition to South America for gold. Raleigh was always a gallant figure. Probably all London boys agreed with Prince Henry when he said, 'Nobody but my father would keep such a bird in a cage.' When in 1617, Raleigh actually set sail for his promised Eldorado, the South American gold mines that were to make every one connected with him fabulously rich, stories must have been rife of his former deeds of prowess, and young Roger would follow his new fortune with eager interest. Villiers's influence with the King enabled Raleigh to make the expedition, which was foredoomed to failure, for the wily Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, won them both over to the side of Spain. Raleigh gave James in confidence a paper showing his plans, number of ships, ports, and other information. The King gave it to Gondomar, and at the foreign court Raleigh's destination was known before he left the shores of England. His unhappy return from the unsuccessful venture the next year and his execution in Old

Palace Yard, almost immediately, were melancholy events in the calendar. Roger may have been present and heard the dignified words and noted the courageous bearing of the old courtier as he placed his head upon the block, ready for the axe of the executioner. Carlyle has graphically described the scene in his 'Cromwell':

'A great and very strange scene — the last scene in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was beheaded in Old Palace Yard: he appeared on the scaffold there about eight o'clock that morning: an immense crowd, all London, and in a sense all England, looking on. A cold, hoar-frosty morning. Earl of Arundel, now known to us through his Greek marbles; Earl of Doncaster (Sardanapalus Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle); these with other dignitaries sat looking through windows near by; to whom Raleigh, in his last brief manful speech appealed, with response from them.... A very tragic scene. Such a man, with his head grown grey, with his strong heart breaking — still strength enough in it to break with dignity, somewhat proudly he laid his old grey head on the block, as if saying in better than words, "There, there!"'

# PART I

# THE YOUTH OF ROGER WILLIAMS

# (1621–1630)

## CHAPTER I

# SIR EDWARD COKE, ROGER WILLIAMS'S PATRON

ROGER WILLIAMS grew up in, but not of, a world of fashion and pleasure, of extravagance and immorality. Like every London child, he had occasional glimpses of the gay life of the Court in its public pageants; and like every Puritan boy he was unavoidably aware of the undercurrent of whispering at its scandals. Of what he saw and heard he would disapprove, with the violent Puritan disapproval of the world, the flesh, and the Devil. Meantime he would be reading and learning his Bible.

The King James Version of the Bible was published in 1611. After the ill-fated Conference at Hampton, in the first year of the reign of James I, when the Nonconformists petitioned the new King for ecclesiastical reform, Dr. Reynolds of Oxford, probably the most learned man in England, one of the four disputants of the Millenary Petition against the eighteen on the other side, proposed that a new and more correct translation of the Bible be made. The suggestion was opposed by the ecclesiastics through their spokesman, Bishop Bancroft, Bishop of London. But it appealed to James, 'the scholarly,' and he appointed a commission of learned men from the universities to undertake the task; thereby making himself more famous than by any other act of his reign, putting his name into the mouth of posterity from generation to generation. In seven years the King James Version of the Bible was completed, and the study of the sacred book, which had been placed in the hands of the people during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was given new impetus. Roger studied it to good advantage. His writings, later in life, bristled with quotations — largely from the Old

Testament and of a violent nature, as was the fashion of the times — hung as thickly as thorns upon a briar bush.

Roger's father, James Williams, citizen and merchant tailor, of Cow Lane, Saint Sepulchre's Parish, London, died September 7, 1620. By his will, proved November 19, 1621, the two younger sons, Robert and Roger, were to receive one half of one third of his estate, and legacies of twenty-five pounds apiece, to be paid on their reaching the age of twenty-four. The poor of Saint Sepulchre's Without Newgate were to receive ten pounds in money and bread, to be distributed among them on the day of the funeral or the day after. His wife, Alice Williams, was sole executrix; the overseers were: Roger Pemberton, his brother-in-law, Roger Kinge, cloth worker, Ralph Wightman, his son-in-law, Thomas Morse, his kinsman. (Roger Pemberton, of Saint Albans, died in 1627, leaving a legacy of ten pounds to his nephew and godson, Roger Williams.) James and Alice Williams, and their children, some three years earlier in 1617, had each received a legacy of twenty shillings from Margery Pate, widow, whose will directed that her body be buried, 'within the church of St. Pulkers.'

Roger's older brother, Sydrack, had become a merchant tailor, and was later a Turkey merchant, and his sister Katherine had married another merchant tailor, Ralph Wightman. But Robert and Roger were not to follow the trade of their father. They were destined to teach and to preach in the New World, 'across the seas.' Robert is recorded as a proprietor of Providence, and a teacher in Newport. Sydrack married Anna Pinney, a widow of Saint Gabriel's Parish, Fenchurch Street, October 10, 1621, about a year after his father's death. He was the 'Turkey merchant' mentioned by Roger Williams in 'George Fox Digged out of His Burrows.'

> 'Myself have seen the Old Testament of the Jews, most curious writing, whose price (in the way of trade) was three score pounds, which my brother, a Turkey merchant, had and showed me.'

Roger studied stenography as well as the Bible, and became an adept at shorthand writing. The first edition of the 'Art of Stenographie,' by John Willis, appeared in 1602, and a revised edition, by Edmund Willis, in 1618. It was tremendously popular, fourteen editions being published by 1647. Roger took down sermons at Saint Sepulchre's Church, and speeches in the Star Chamber, the awesome and terrible court at Westminster Hall, where offenders against the Crown were summarily and secretly tried, and 'justice was administered,' by arbitrary authority, instead of by regular process of law. It was the church of the great judge, Sir Edward Coke, and of the well-known explorer, Captain John Smith. Smith was in Virginia, helping to found the colony of Jamestown, from 1606 to 1609. In 1614 he explored the coast of New England from Penobscot to Cape Cod. He wrote some books about New England — 'A Description of New England,' in 1616, 'New England's Trials,' in 1620, and others later. And in 1617 he presented at Court the Indian girl Pocahontas, who was then Rebecca Rolfe, wife of John Rolfe, another of the settlers at Jamestown. When Rolfe came back to England in 1616, he brought a number of Indians with him. Roger Williams, an impressionable lad of twelve or thirteen, probably first became interested in Indians through Captain John Smith.

On June 25, 1621, Roger Williams was elected a scholar of Charterhouse School. He was a bright boy, whose fine mind had not been neglected. By its use, he had attracted to himself a patron, the famous Sir Edward Coke. Coke had one of the most powerful intellects of the time, and was among the prominent figures on the stage of London. It was a favorable time for Roger to be under his influence — perhaps the most admirable part of the great man's career. He was back in the House of Commons, after a long absence — destined to be leader of the Puritans there, by virtue of his great knowledge of, and experience in, the law, now champion of the people instead of defender of the Crown — fighting against patents and monopolies (the case of referees), work which was leading up to the great Petition of Right, presented to Charles in 1628.[1]

He was held in universal respect that was well-nigh awe in the breasts of the common people, and which merged into fear and hatred in those in whose way his stern, forbidding figure stood. 'He is the fittest instrument to be a tyrant that ever was in England,' said James, when Coke was released from the Tower, where his work in that Parliament of 1621 put him. His harsh, unbending opposition to any infringement of the law, his violent method of attack and persecution in the cases of offenders brought before him as judge, were the models of conduct constantly before the eyes of the young man. But, simultaneously, the prodigious industry, the enormous learning, and the unflinching integrity of the old man were patterns of character. He once said:

> 'If I am asked a question of common law, I should be ashamed if I could not immediately answer it; but if I am asked a question of statute law, I should be ashamed to answer it without reference to the statute book.'

Coke must have welcomed the labor-saving and the time-saving of stenography. He was greatly attracted by the promising youth who practiced it in his behalf, and rewarded him by placing him in Charterhouse School, of which he was one of the governors.

Coke's daughter, Mrs. Anne Sadleir, thus reports:

> 'This Roger Williams, when he was a youth would in a short-hand take down sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital (Charterhouse School) and he was the second that was placed there; full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the King and his country.'

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[1] John Morley, in *Oliver Cromwell*, writes of 'Coke, now nearing eighty, but as keen for the letter of the law now that it was for the people, as he had been when he took it to be on the side of authority.'

Later in life Roger wrote to Coke's son:

> 'My much honored friend, that man of honor and wisdom and piety, your dear father, was often pleased to call me his son.'

And to Mrs. Sadleir:

> 'I may truly say that, beside my natural inclination to study and activity, his example, instruction and encouragement, have spurred me on to a more than ordinary industrious and patient course in my whole course hitherto.'

For forty years Coke had been one of the most prominent and powerful figures in the history of England. His name stood for Law — the majesty and might of the law, which finally he held, and proved, to be above the might and majesty of kings. His rise to fame was rapid, but built upon a sure and solid foundation. His keen intellect and indomitable energy were bent upon one object only — the mastery of the law of England. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, under Whitgift, later Archbishop Whitgift for Queen Elizabeth, but did not stay for his degree, turning instead, at twenty, to his chosen field by entering Clifford's Inn, the Inner Temple.

Here his industry was enormous and fruitful. His habit was to rise at three o'clock in the morning, lighting his own fire in winter, and read Bracton, Littleton, the Year Books, and the Folio Abridgments till the courts met at eight. He then went by water to Westminster to hear cases argued until noon, when there was a recess for dinner. In the afternoon lectures and study occupied him until supper-time at five o'clock. After supper came the Moots, or discussion of fine points of law, in the Temple Gardens, or the covered walks of the Temple Church, if the weather were not fine. The evening he spent in entering in his commonplace book a summary of the law he had learned during the day, until nine o'clock, when he retired promptly, in order to have as much sleep before as after midnight. Such concentration of such powers soon brought its reward. He was chosen by the students to argue before the benchers the famous 'cook's case' — a mock suit against them for the poor quality of the food then served at the commons of the Inner Temple. His signal success, due to his display of knowledge of the law and skill in applying it to his own ends, won instant recognition and approval.

He was called to the bar after six instead of the customary seven years, in 1578, and soon was appointed, by the benchers of the Inner Temple, Reader of Lyon's Inn, an inn of chancery under their control. His skill in the art of special pleading was evident in his first brief, when he was counsel for the defense in the case of vicar Denney against Lord Cromwell and won his case 'by a clever turn and ingenious learned argument.' Such fame of him spread abroad that crowds of clients came. In three years he reached the head of his profession through his conduct of 'Shelley's case,' the most celebrated case that has ever occurred in England respecting the law of real property and that established the rights of a son born after his father's death. After that, as long as he remained at the bar he was employed in every case of importance that came on in Westminster Hall.

His great income made him immensely rich, particularly in lands, which he acquired so copiously that the Crown became alarmed lest he own too much for a subject. He received permission, however, to buy one more acre, and acquired the famous Castle Acre estate, equal to all his former possessions. After he had been four years at the bar, and was thirty years old, his fortunes were also augmented by a rich marriage. It was, nevertheless, a very happy one, and brought him ten children.

After fourteen years at the bar, in 1592, when he was forty years old, he was appointed Solicitor-General to Queen Elizabeth. The same year he was sent to Parliament from Norfolk, an election 'unanimous, free, and spontaneous without any solicitation or canvassing on my part,' he records in his private notebook. He was immediately made Speaker of the House of Commons, though he modestly demurred. It was a time when Parliament had become increasingly conscious of its rights and sensitive to their usurpation by the royal prerogative, particularly in matters ecclesiastical. The House of Commons was composed in large part of country squires whose sympathies were with the Puritans, and who were eager for liberty in religious matters and anxious lest the Papists succeed in their efforts to regain lost power.

In his opening address, as was usual, Coke concluded with the plea for liberty of speech. The Lord Keeper answered for the Queen:

> 'Liberty of speech is granted you, but you must know what privilege you have: not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh to his brain to utter, but your privilege is aye or no. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, her Majesty's, pleasure is that if you perceive any idle heads which will meddle with reforming the Church and transforming the Commonwealth, and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, you receive them not until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things and can better judge of them.'

Coke's duty as a servant of the Queen was thus plainly put before him; and faithfully and efficiently did he perform it.

Opportunity was not slow in coming for him to show his skill and fitness as officer of the Crown in curbing the growing restlessness of Parliament under religious restraint. In spite of the very plain language of the Queen's answer to the request for free speech, a bill was soon introduced for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses. Coke asked for permission to consider it over night:

> 'Wherefore, if it please you to give me leave to consider it, I protest I will be faithful and keep it with all secrecy.'

Next day, assuring them that no man's eye but his own had seen the bill, he declared the Queen was 'highly displeased that any should attempt a thing which she had expressly forbidden,' and that he was commanded, 'upon his allegiance, if any such bill should be presented, not to read it.' Morris, the sponsor of the attempt to get the matter of ecclesiastical reform before Parliament, was committed into the custody of the Chancellor of the Exchequer till some weeks after the end of the session. Coke's closing speech, in which he likened the empire to a beehive and Elizabeth, the queen bee, further disclosed the policy of loyal devotion to the interests of the Crown which he was to follow consistently for many years.

'We will serve your Majesty and withstand any enemy that shall assault you. Our lands, our goods, our lives are prostrate at your feet to be commanded.'

## CHAPTER II

## COKE AND BACON

COKE's immense learning and ability to apply it advantageously in the Queen's interest made him an invaluable ally of the Lord Treasurer, Lord Burghley. It is small wonder that the next year Burghley favored Coke for the position of Attorney-General rather than his own nephew, Francis Bacon, who was candidate for the place and whose cause was warmly espoused by no less powerful a friend than the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favorite, then at the height of his influence at Court. Bacon was a courtier and a man of letters. That very year he had written for Essex a 'device' for the amusement of Queen Elizabeth at one of her triumphs. Many papers on subjects timely had come from his pen; and masques for occasions, often containing passages that were to be embodied in his later books.

Bacon had studied law and was as well qualified for the position of Attorney-General as he was when he finally achieved it, twenty years later. But he was not known or thought of as a lawyer. He did not want the place for the exercise of legal prowess, but as a source of wealth and power. He had for years been importuning his uncle, Lord Burghley, for a position which would give him an assured income to live as a man of the world and yet not interfere with the leisure necessary for his vast studies. But in his letters of appeal he showed that the law had but little of his heart. This very year he had written his uncle again a solicitation for help 'to serve her Majesty,' and added:

> 'I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province.'

It was not surprising that the proved and useful Mr. Coke, who knew nothing but law, but who knew all there was to know of that, and whose valuable services already rendered demanded recognition, should have received the reward of the attorney-generalship.

Bacon never received a salaried appointment under Elizabeth. She knew him well. His father had been her Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. When Francis was a boy, she called him her little Lord Keeper. But as a man she never assisted him in advancing his fortunes. She enjoyed his society, which was charming, and sometimes dined with him at his house at Twickenham. But she didn't trust his speculative turn of mind for public office; and she could not forget that in Parliament he had opposed her scheme of collecting the triple subsidy. After losing the post of Attorney-General, he tried for that of Solicitor-General, but was unsuccessful there also, perhaps because of Coke's influence. Certain it is that they were bitter rivals thenceforward as long as they lived. Bacon was made a member of the Learned Counsel — lawyers with occasional and less important work, not ranking with those in the regular official employ. He still had most of his time for his writing and study. Three years later, in 1597, his 'Essays' were published.

Coke and Bacon became rivals in love as well as in law, for both were suitors for the hand of Lady Hatton, a widow, young, beautiful, rich, and high-born, the granddaughter of Lord Burghley. Lord Essex had tried to push Bacon's suit, but she would have none of it; and Essex had given Bacon an estate worth at least eighteen hundred pounds to help his necessities, when the rich match and the salaried appointments failed. For Bacon was always burdened with debts. The gay and lovely girl, twenty years old, devoted to life at Court, did not want her contemplative cousin, Francis Bacon. But neither did she in the least want to be the wife of Mr. Coke (he had not yet been knighted), who, though a fine figure of a man, was not of her world, was more than twice her age, harsh and forbidding in manner, and a recent widower with many children. She objected strenuously, and probably was prevailed on only by the insistence of her relatives.

The bride would not have other than a private marriage, which was against the express orders recently issued by Archbishop Whitgift against irregular marriages, in a private house, without a license, or the publishing of banns for three successive Sundays preceding — under penalty of the 'greater excommunication' (debarring from the sacraments and from intercourse with the faithful, forfeiture of property, and liability of perpetual imprisonment). Coke doubtless relied on Whitgift's leniency in his case: for he had been under Whitgift at Cambridge, and, when he had become Attorney-General, Whitgift had given him a Greek Testament, with the advice that he 'study God's law, having studied common law long enough.' But the Archbishop showed that he was no respecter of persons even if his famous pupil was, and ordered suit against Coke, Burghley, her father who gave her away, and the rector who married them. Coke made humble submission, and a special dispensation was granted him, because of his 'ignorance of ecclesiastical law.'

It proved to be a very unhappy marriage, in great contrast to Coke's first. At the time of his first wife's death, he wrote in his private notebook:

> 'Most beloved and most excellent wife, she well and happily lived, and as a true handmaid of the Lord, fell asleep in the Lord and now lives and reigns in heaven.'

His wish to marry Lady Hatton was for her money: doubtless, too, he wanted to succeed where his rival Bacon had failed. Lady Hatton refused to take his name (which she always wrote 'Cook') and drop her title; and she consented to live with him only about a year. Then she went back to the Court she loved and graced. When Ben Jonson's

'Masque of Beauty' was played before the King at Theobald's and at Whitehall in 1607, she was one of the fifteen court beauties who, with the Queen, performed in the show. It was the irony of fate that their only child, a daughter, should be the cause of rivalry between Coke and Bacon again some seventeen years later.

As Attorney-General, Coke conducted many famous prosecutions, the first of which was against the seditious earls, Lord Essex and the Earl of Southampton; then Sir Walter Raleigh; and then the members of the Gunpowder Plot. In these trials his arrogant, unfeeling, almost unbearably insolent treatment of the prisoners is unpleasantly apparent in the records. The bitterness of his struggles with his rival Bacon, and the unhappiness of his private life, told upon his temper, never a pleasant one, and he became 'the tyrant of Westminster Hall.' His language was violent and insulting; as in the trial of Raleigh in 1603, for treason, charged with entering into the Catholic plot to put the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne.

> 'Nay, I will prove all: thou art a monster; thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart.'
>
> 'I will prove you the notoriousest traitor that ever held up his hand at the bar of any court.'
>
> 'Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived. I want words sufficient to express thy viprous treasons.'

Raleigh was found guilty: but the sentence of death could never be executed for fear of popular disapproval until after the disastrous South American expedition.

In the Court of the Exchequer, in 1603, Bacon had to make a motion disagreeable to Coke. He thus describes the ensuing encounter.

> *Coke* — 'Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out for it will do you more hurt than all the teeth in your head will do you good.'

*Bacon* — 'Mr. Attorney, I respect you. I fear you not: and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I will think of it.'

*Coke* — 'I think it scorn to stand upon terms of greatness toward you who are less than little — less than the least.'

But Bacon's turn was to come. Although he had never been prominent in the Government of Elizabeth, he was more successful with James, whose favor he sought immediately. In 1606, when he was forty-six years old, with the help of his cousin, Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, he married an alderman's daughter, with a goodly portion, that enabled him to live in the style to which he was accustomed and that his soul required. Aubrey, writing of Bacon says:

'His manner of living [at York House, where he went to live in 1617], was superb in the extreme. Every meal, according to the season of the year, he had his table strewed with sweet herbs and flowers, which he said did refresh his spirits and memory.'

He did not go to York House to live, however, till after he became Lord Chancellor. York House, granted by Queen Mary to the Archbishop of York, had been let by later archbishops to the Lord Keepers of the Great Seal, and Bacon was born there. He loved it: he told the Duke of Lennox, when the Duke tried to buy Bacon's life interest in the house:

'For this you will pardon me. York House is the house wherein my father died and wherein I first breathed, and there will I yield my last breath, if so please God and the King will give me leave.'

His Latin letter to the University of Cambridge, on sending them his 'Novum Organum,' was dated 'Ex Œdibus Eboracum, 3 Oct., 1620.' (Eboracum, Latin for York.) He would not part with it to the Duke of Buckingham, who long wanted it, but was unable to get it until the Great Seal was fetched from York House May 1, 1621, and Bacon was in disgrace in the Tower. On Whitsun Eve, May 15, 1624, according to Archbishop Laud's diary:

'The bill passed in Parliament for the King to have York House in exchange for other lands. This was for the Duke of Buckingham.'

At forty-seven, Bacon became Solicitor-General. At the same time Coke retired from the office of Attorney-General to become Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a position of great influence and power where he became arbitrator between the King and his subjects. For the next ten years Bacon's fortunes finally but steadily rose, with the help of James's favorite, Rochester, a valuable ally. In 1613, Bacon wrote a masque in celebration of Rochester's, then Somerset's, marriage — 'a very splendid trifle, the Masque of Flowers,' which cost him two thousand pounds to have presented by the students of Gray's Inn. Some months after the marriage, Bacon became Attorney-General. After Somerset's fall, which rapidly followed his rise to power, Bacon was equally successful in winning the support of the new favorite, George Villiers, the future great Buckingham. He wrote promptly, giving good advice, part of which was to oppose all innovations in the Church. This was 1616, thirteen years of experience since he had written in Queen Elizabeth's time in quite another vein, a tract in favor of ecclesiastical reform:

'Why should the civil state be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three or four years in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief: and contrariwise the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time and receive no alteration now for these forty-five years or more?'

Meantime, Coke, who never sought the favor of James, had incurred his displeasure and distrust by his increasing championship of the rights of the people, often in opposition to the royal prerogative. His first notable conflict with the

King was in 1607, when Archbishop Bancroft, in the case of Fuller, appealed to the King, saying that the judges were but the King's delegates, and he could at any time take causes out of their hands. Coke protested that such was not the case. James averred 'that the law was founded on reason, and that he and others had reason as well as the judges.' Coke answered that

> 'it was true that God had endowed his Majesty with excellent science and great endowments of nature; but that his Majesty was not learned in the laws of the realm of England: and causes which concern the life, the inheritance, or goods or fortunes of his subjects are not to be decided by natural reason, but by the artificial reason and judgment of the law, which law requires long study and experience before that a man can attain to the cognizance of it.'

Angrily James replied: 'Then I shall be under the law, which it is treason to affirm.' But Coke returned with the maxim of Bracton that the King ought not to be under any man but under God and the law.

Four years later, when Lord Salisbury sent for Coke and asked him as to the King's power of prohibiting the building of new houses and the manufacture of starch, Coke and three other judges, after consultation, gave their formal opinion that the King had no prerogative but that allowed him by the law of the land. 'The King cannot without Parliament change any part of the common law, nor create any offence by his proclamation which was not an offence before.' This was an important step in the struggle between King and Parliament — between the rights of the people and the divine right of kings. That James fully appreciated Coke's power, sending for him to apprehend all parties connected with the Overbury murder, was evident in his own words. Somerset, when arrested, was with the King. But James pretended ignorance, saying, 'My man, there is no remedy; for if Coke sends for me, I must go.'

When Bacon became Attorney-General, it was not difficult for him to arrange for Coke's unwilling transfer to the seat of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, a post of more honor, supposedly, but of less influence. And in 1616, Coke's repeated opposition to the King's encroachments on the rights of the judges was brought to a climax by the Attorney-General in the case of commendams. Coke would not promise, with the other judges, to stay proceedings until after consulting His Majesty, in cases where His Majesty's prerogative or interest was concerned, but would only say, 'When the case happens I shall do that which shall be fit for a judge to do.' The following June 20, James came into the Star Chamber and told the judges their duties, speaking 'more like an angel than a man.' Coke's impeachment on a nominal charge followed in a few days. He was removed from his office and told to review and revise his reports, freeing them from errors. His tremendous industry had been such that he had written and published five volumes of reports of cases during his time as Attorney-General and six of those when he was Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and Chief Justice of King's Bench. Bacon's triumph over his great rival seemed complete. He became Lord Keeper of the Seal, then Lord Chancellor.

Coke's retirement from active work was but of short duration, however. An opportunity of regaining the King's favor through the favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, occurred when Coke's young daughter was fixed upon by the Duke's mother as the heiress to establish the fortunes of another son, John Villiers. It was a high price to pay — fifty thousand pounds was asked for her dowry, and Coke paid twenty. Her mother's violent objection to the match made it necessary for Sir Edward and his son, big Clem Coke, to kidnap the girl forcibly from the house in which she had been secreted. Bacon also objected to the match, fearing it would restore Coke to his former power. His letter of protest to the King was not well received, however. The bridegroom was a worthless fellow. But thenceforward Buckingham was Coke's ally and Bacon's enemy. Frances Coke was married at Hampton Court, and the King gave away the bride. The whole circumstance reflects no credit upon the great lawyer and judge. But it brought him back again into the seat of power.

Meantime, Bacon's honors increased. He was made Baron Verulam in 1618, Viscount Saint Albans in 1621. His great work, the 'Novum Organum,' written and rewritten twelve times through thirty years, was finally published in 1620. At sixty he had reached the height of his power and fame. He was living in splendid style at York House, and for his birthday dinner, January 22, 1621, his friend Ben Jonson, poet laureate, wrote a poem in his honor. His triumph was complete. But short-lived. In a few months he was impeached for bribery and corruption, and imprisoned in the Tower, though soon to be released, and to live five years in ignominious retirement at his lodgings in Gray's Inn.

## Chapter III

## COKE'S TRIUMPH: THE PETITION OF RIGHT

When Parliament met on January 30, 1621, Coke had a seat in the House of Commons. Since his impeachment in 1616, and his return to royal favor through the marriage of his daughter to Sir John Villiers, his activity had been much curtailed. He had a seat at the Council Table, an unimportant and unsalaried post; and he sat occasionally in the Star Chamber and on various commissions. In the Star Chamber, in 1619, he conducted the prosecution of the Lord Treasurer Suffolk for corruption, and characteristically urged an exorbitant fine of one hundred thousand pounds — which was reduced to thirty thousand. Bacon wrote to King James, 'Sir E. Coke did his part — I never heard him do better — and began with a fine of a hundred thousand pounds.' Opportunity came for him to be raised again to the high office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. But his rival Bacon, on the crest of the wave of power and fame, took good care to prevent it.

Coke couldn't appreciate the 'Novum Organum,' and so despised it. On the fly-leaf of his copy, presented by the author, he wrote some sarcastic lines in Latin, and these in English:

> 'It deserves not to be read in schooles,
> But to be freighted in the Ship of Fools.'

His own great work, the 'First Institute' — the Commentary on Littleton, which is really the whole body of the Common Law of England — was begun after his retirement from public office, and the writing of his two final volumes of Reports.

The Puritans were strong in the Parliament of 1621. Sir Edward Coke made himself their leader, although he had hitherto professed High Church principles. He was supported by Pym, one of the greatest leaders the House of Commons ever produced, who made his first great speech then. Coke at once exhibited his aggressive policy — against Catholics, moving for the better execution of the laws against Jesuits, seminary priests, and popish recusants. Soon came the findings of the Committee on Grievances, charging the Lord Chancellor Bacon with bribery, and his impeachment, indirectly managed by Coke — the last act of their bitter rivalry, with its varying fortunes, through many years. Bacon never again held public office. But he lived to see new triumphs for his foe.

Coke did not take Bacon's place as Lord Chancellor, although James probably would have been wise to make the appointment instead of leaving his enemy in power in the House of Commons. Though Bacon was in disgrace, he still had influence privately with the King. James soon discovered his mistake. Parliament, under the guidance of Coke, was not amenable to the wishes of the sovereign. Therefore, he thought it would be well for Parliament to adjourn from May till November, since it would scarcely be wise to give offense by his sudden dissolving of it. Coke opposed the suggestion and managed a conference with the Lords that asked further time to finish the bills which they were considering. James reminded them that 'he alone had the power to call, adjourn, and determine Parliaments.' Coke still persisted in his opposition, but the Lords, then the House, consented to adjourn till November 14. Young and impressionable Roger Williams, taking down the great Coke's speeches in shorthand, was getting his training in the principles of government and the rights of the people and in aggressive and controversial statesmanship — lessons which were to continue through several more Parliaments. How well he learned them was evident on his first arrival in New England, when he at once maintained that the King had no right to the lands of the Indians except by purchase.

The two chief subjects of interest and topics of conversation in all London, high and low, were the emigration to America due to religious and political oppression and the contemplated alliance with Spain by the marriage of Prince Charles. Such a marriage was a hateful thought to the Puritans, for it meant the return of Catholic influence and power. But the gold in the Spanish coffers was too much of a temptation to needy James. His subjects grew more and more reluctant and rebellious about furnishing him with the wherewithal for his extravagant Court. Spanish advantage was ably represented in England by the Ambassador Gondomar. His influence over James and his Court was keenly felt and resented by the people; his name often on the lips of old and young. Their animosity was the same that blazed out, a little later, in the 'tumult of the apprentices.' A group of the boys, seeing Count Gondomar being borne along Fleet Street in his sedan chair, began to rail at the little cavalcade. 'There goes the devil in his dung-cart!' sang out one of them. A retainer quickly retaliated with a blow that started the fight in which three hundred apprentices eagerly joined. The offenders were punished, of course, the instigators being whipped, and one killed. But love of Spain was not accomplished by the outcome.

The marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Protestant Elector of the Palatinate had been hailed with delight by the subjects of King James in 1613. Five years later, Frederick had become King of Bohemia. But that same year saw the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, 'the forward-march of Catholic reaction, led by Austria, helped by Spain,' and the great need of German Protestantism for help from England. Lord Digby, English Ambassador to Austria, did his best, but, between foolish Frederick in Bohemia and foolish James in England, he had little chance to prevent the invasion of the Palatinate by a Spanish army and their victory in the battle of November, 1620, after which Frederick and Elizabeth fled to Holland. The sympathy of James's subjects was with the English princess and the Protestants in Germany. But their sovereign was more interested in his hope for future favor with Catholic Spain.

Picturesque and powerful protest against the insidious gains in Catholic influence had come the year before in the emigration of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' to America, from Leyden, Holland. The Brownists, or Separatists, the extreme wing of the Protestants, who advocated the separation of Church and State and a congregational form of church government, had been banished under Elizabeth and gone in great numbers during the last ten years of her reign to Holland, where they established headquarters at Amsterdam. Here new converts took the name of Baptists, from the Anabaptists of Holland. Some became Mennonites, whence sprung the English Quakers later. The Baptists were the first body of Christians to formulate the doctrine of religious liberty. In 1611, the parent church in Amsterdam made a Declaration of Faith, containing the following statement:

> 'The magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion: because Christ is the King and Law Giver of the Church and of Conscience.'

Masson believes this is the first expression of the absolute principle of liberty of conscience in the public articles of any body of Christians.

After the Hampton Conference and the refusal of the Millenary Petition had shown that rigorous and complete conformity to the Church of England was to be the only basis of residence in England under the new monarch, a group of these Brownists (John Robinson was their minister; William Brewster and William Bradford were of their number) emigrated to Holland, first to Amsterdam in 1608, then to Leyden in 1609. Holland led the world in the arts and sciences. Her artisans and their manufactures surpassed those of all other countries, and were a wonderful example to the agricultural visitors. There were fine free schools and a high standard of education. The University of Leyden, founded in 1575, had become the center of learning of the world. The Dutch were a wonderfully ingenious and industrious people. Their civilization was the result of hundreds of years of self-government.

At the end of ten years in Holland, the English Baptists decided to try their fortunes in a new land. The new Colony of Plymouth, on the other side of the ocean, was an adventure of supreme interest to the Nonconformist brethren still in England. It was an object lesson of the possibility of escape from the exactions and persecutions of the King and the bishops of the Church of England, that strove without ceasing for absolute conformity. And conformity to the Puritans meant little less than Popery.

The exiles had found freedom and prosperity in Holland. But 'many could not endure the great labor and hard fare,' according to Governor Bradford. Moreover, it was a strange country with a foreign language. They were an unsophisticated, agricultural people. They longed for a simple life on their own English soil; and preferred to undertake the hardships of an English-owned wilderness to the easier life of a foreign city. Finally, after obtaining a patent from the Virginia Company in 1620 they set sail in the Mayflower, a ship financed by the Adventurers, a company of merchants in London, who hoped to find commercial profit in the New England venture of the religious exiles.

In 1611, some Separatists returned to London and founded the first English church of General Baptists. In 1623, there were churches in London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton. In 1616, returned Brownists founded the first English Congregational or Independent Church. Secret meetings began to discuss possibilities and means of emigration.

The autumn that Roger entered Charterhouse, Parliament was called to raise money — too late for the help of Frederick and Protestantism in the Palatinate, which a Spanish army had invaded the preceding year. Frederick had been made King of Bohemia in 1618. James was interested in negotiations for a Spanish match for Prince Charles, and loath to offend Count Gondomar, the wily ambassador who had gained great influence at Court. Pym made a memorable speech, attacking the King of Spain and the Pope, who were aiming at supremacy. Gondomar sent a letter of protest to the King, who immediately rebuked the Commons for interfering with his prerogative by meddling with matters of which they were unqualified to speak. By Coke's influence a Protestation was drawn up in writing, adopted by the House, and entered in the Journals:

'That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England: and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state and defense of the realm and of the Church of England and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel or debate in Parliament: and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason and bring to conclusion the same: that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty to treat of those matters in such order as their judgments shall seem fittest, and that every such member of the House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment and molestation (other than by censure of the House itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning or declaring any matter or matters touching the Parliament or Parliament business.'

The King, furious with anger, sent for the 'Journals of the House,' and in the presence of the Council and the judges tore out the page on which the hateful Protestation was written. The offenders were punished, Coke, Privy Councillor, being first to be committed to the Tower. A few days later, Parliament was dissolved. Pym and Selden also were sent to the Tower.

Gondomar wrote to the Infanta Isabella:

'It is certain that the King will never summon another Parliament as long as he lives, or at least not another composed as this one was. It is the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and the Catholic religion since Luther began to preach heresy a hundred years ago. The King will no longer be able to succor his son-in-law or to hinder the advance of the Catholics. It is true that this wretched people are desperately offended against him, but they are without union among themselves and have neither leaders nor strong places to lean upon. Besides, they are rich and live comfortably in their houses; so that it is not likely that there will be any disturbance.'

During Elizabeth's reign of forty-five years, Parliament was convened thirteen times: in the twenty-two-year reign of James, but four times. But in the first four years of the reign of Charles, there were three Parliaments. Coke was a member of the Parliament of 1623, the last Parliament of James's reign, and of the one of 1625, the first of that of Charles. Prince Charles had been his friend — had been the instrument to get him out of the Tower. Buckingham, too, in the last Parliament of James, had gone over to the side of the Puritans (the Spanish match being broken off), encouraging plans to abolish the order of bishops and sell dean and chapter lands to help defray the expenses of the war in the Palatinate, leading Coke to hail him 'Savior of his country' and to support the government. March 7, 1623, John Winthrop, Puritan, later Governor of Massachusetts, wrote:

'Our Parliament here is begun with exceeding much comfort and hope. The treaty about the Spanish match is now concluded by King, Prince and Parliament, to be at an end: and it is very like we shall not hold long with Spain.... The

Duke of Buckingham hath quit himself worthily and given great satisfaction to the Parliament. God send a good end to these happy beginnings.'

Coke had hopes that the reign of Charles would prove more prosperous than the preceding, but they were soon dashed. Charles, although setting an example of morality for his Court to follow, and being the greatest patron of the arts of all English kings, was of the same belief as his father in the divine right of kings. His first Parliament in 1625 had faced a demand for huge sums and resisted. During James's reign the King was continually hard-pressed for funds to meet the extravagance of his Court. Elizabeth's needs had been met without opposition, partly through the wise statesmanship of her Treasurer, Lord Burghley, but also because of her own sagacity. Two years before she died, when she found it expedient to withdraw the unpopular trade monopolies and, in Parliament, honorable members wept for joy, she said, 'Though God has raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your loves.' James early began to raise money by other means than Parliament, notably by the sale of peerages. He sold nearly one hundred patents for a new order of hereditary knights called baronets at a thousand pounds each. In the summer of 1618, four earls were created: an earldom cost ten thousand pounds. The King needed the money for his annual hunting. Lord Cavendish and Lord Rich exchanged their baronies for the earldoms of Devonshire and Warwick.

Charles's second Parliament, the next year, 1626, again was called upon for funds. But instead they considered redress of grievances, and placed the blame for their plight on Buckingham. Clem Coke began Buckingham's impeachment, saying in his speech, 'It is better to die by an enemy than suffer at home.' Charles, deeply angered by the public attack on his favorite, summoned the Lords and Commons to Whitehall to remind them that the King was greater than Parliament.

> 'Remember [he said] that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, or dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be.'

Yet formal impeachment of Buckingham was made by Sir John Eliot on May 8, and Parliament dissolved by Charles, June 15, with no money granted him.

After trying in vain to get money from two Parliaments, he resorted to other means, forced loans, benevolences, ship money. Pym, Hampden, Wentworth, the Earl of Lincoln, and others were sent to the Tower for resisting forced loans. But, a war with France on his hands, the King was obliged to call a third Parliament, March 17, 1628, and demand money for the necessities of the State. Buckingham had been conducting the expedition against France to free Rochelle, the disastrous result of which had ended in the retreat to England the previous autumn.

Coke led Parliament into the consideration of redress of grievances before that of the desired grant of funds. He drew up the famous Petition of Right, a second Magna Charta, and by his courageous will he steered it through stormy waters in the Commons and the Lords and finally managed the King's assent. Subsidies were to be voted as soon as the Petition was signed. Coke had changed his mind about the Duke of Buckingham, and had spoken plainly:

> 'Not knowing whether I shall ever speak in this House again I will do it now freely.... I think the Duke of Bucks is the cause of our miseries...that man is the grievance of grievances.... It is not the King but the Duke.'

The Petition of Right enumerated the nation's grievances through the abuse of the prerogative — the forced loans and benevolences, unlawful imprisonments, billeting of soldiers, etc.; declared them contrary to the laws of the realm and in forceful terms protected the people in all time to come from similar oppressions. When Charles consented to the Petition of Right, Parliament immediately granted two subsidies. In 1627, the City decided to loan the King one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, if amply secured. The various Companies were assessed: The Merchant Taylors, sixty-three hundred pounds; Grocers, six thousand; Haberdashers, forty-three hundred; Drapers, forty-six hundred and eight; etc. The masters and wardens of the Plumbers, Saddlers, Founders, Joiners, and Glaziers were sent to prison for not collecting their quota. Charles had agreed to the Petition of Right, but he immediately disregarded his agreement. He planned on forced revenue from tonnage and poundage, and dissolved Parliament before they could make remonstrance. Coke never sat in the House of Commons again. He devoted the rest of his life to his writings, the 'Second, Third, and Fourth Institutes,' in retirement at Stoke Poges. His daughter, Lady Parbeck (Frances Coke Villiers), was in attendance upon him in his last years.

Through all the time at Charterhouse School, and later at Cambridge, Roger Williams was an interested follower of these fortunes and triumphs of his patron in Parliament. The powerful old man, who called him son, was a mighty influence in the development of the young man, the future opponent of government usurpation of the rights of the individual in the courts of New England.

# Chapter IV

## CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL AND CAMBRIDGE

There had not long been a school at Charterhouse when Roger Williams entered it in 1621. In the year of the great pest, 1348, the Black Death that spread all over Europe in the fourteenth century, Sir Walter Manny, made Knight of the Garter for service to Edward III, founded the Charterhouse, by Smithfield, to be a burial place for the dead. In that year more than fifty thousand persons were buried there:

> 'The pestilence overspread all England, so wasting the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive; and churchyards were not sufficient to receive the dead, but [people] were forced to choose out certain fields for burial.'

Sir Walter first built a chapel there, for he intended the place 'for the burial of poor people, travellers, and other that were deceased, to remain forever'; then founded a monastery for Carthusian monks. At the time of the suppression, Henry VIII gave it to Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Queen Elizabeth visited Howard House for five days before her coronation: and James I 'rested' there on his first coming to London in 1603, from May 7 to May 11. He spent five weeks on his journey from Edinburgh to London, a distance covered in sixty hours by the messenger who rode to announce to him Queen Elizabeth's death on March 24. James spent his days in hunting and his nights in feasting, of both of which he was inordinately fond.

In 1611, Howard House was bought by Thomas Sutton, once Master of Ordnance to Queen Elizabeth, for thirteen thousand pounds. His plan was to found a Hospital and School for the poor; but not for the indigent poor, or working classes or artisan classes, but for those of higher social rank

— 'persons exceedingly well connected, but really poor,' as Archdeacon Hale explained in 1862. Of the twenty-one first 'brothers' of the foundation, many were captains: Sutton had been a soldier, a captain, under Queen Elizabeth. Among the first gown-boys, or scholars of the foundation, were Danyell Colbye, in 1614, a son of Thomas Colbye, Esq., and Richard White, 1619, son of Sir Richard White, Knight. In the records of the first governors' assembly occurs the following:

> Item: — no children to be placed there whose parents had any estate of lands to leave unto them but only the children of poor men that want means to bring them up.

Sir Edward Coke was one of the list of first governors, of whom Archbishop Laud was chairman.

The first schoolmaster at Charterhouse was the Reverend John Hutton, rector of Sutton's old parish of Littlebury, in Essex. But Hutton died not long after the death of the benefactor. On December 3, 1614, Nicholas Gray was confirmed as schoolmaster, a post he held during Roger Williams's time there. Two months before, October 3, the first gown-boys, forty of them, were housed in what had been the tennis court of Howard House. Among later well-known Charterhouse boys were Richard Lovelace, John Wesley, Addison, Steele, Palgrave, Grote, Thackeray, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts, and Forbes-Robertson, the actor.

The gown-boy led a life that would be strenuous for a modern schoolboy. He rose at 5 A.M.; had breakfast of beer, bread, and cheese at 8 A.M.; dinner at midday, or 3 P.M., of beef, mutton, veal, or pork (fish on Friday), with 'appels or furmity' (furmity, or fromenty, is the hoary ancestor of the bread- or rice-pudding, well known to the modern schoolboy); and supper at night, of beer, bread, and cheese. He wore a straight-cut 'jerkin' (short jacket of black cloth), with an Eton collar over the large collar, knee-breeches, and a cloth gown with sleeves prolonged to a slender point. His course of study, pursued with vigor through many long hours, consisted largely of the classics.

The beautiful hall of carved oak at Charterhouse is one of the finest examples of sixteenth-century architecture now remaining. There is a memorial to Roger Williams in the chapel cloister at Charterhouse. The brothers and gown-boys lived in lovely surroundings through the thoughtful generosity of the founder of the school and hospital. Sir Edward Coke was not only on the board of governors of Charterhouse school: he was also High Steward of Cambridge University. With a scholarship from Charterhouse, Roger Williams went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, when he was about twenty years old, matriculating July 7, 1624, and receiving a degree of A.B. in January, 1627. He was older than the average student. Bacon, who went at twelve, was younger: Milton, at sixteen, nearer the average.

There were nearly three thousand students in the sixteen colleges that made up Cambridge University. Trinity was the largest, with four hundred and forty; Christ's had two hundred and sixty-five; Emanuel, under Dr. John Preston, who was regarded by the Puritans of England as their leader, two hundred and sixty; and Pembroke, whose head was Dr. Jerome Beale, one hundred and forty. John Milton went to Christ's in February, 1624, and was in Cambridge all the rest of the time that Roger Williams was there. Whether the two young men knew each other, and journeyed back and forth to their London homes together, is not known; it is certain that they were friends in later years when Roger went to England in the interests of a charter for the new colony. We have it in his own words in 1654:

> 'Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages.'

Trinity had been Sir Edward Coke's college, as it had also been Sir Francis Bacon's. William Gouge, afterward a famous Puritan minister, rector of Saint Sepulchre's, was a

Fellow at King's. The religious tradition was strong at Pembroke, Roger Williams's college. Fellows at Pembroke were Dr. Matthew Wren, afterward Bishop of Hereford and Ely; Benjamin Laney, who succeeded Jerome Beale as Head of Pembroke, and afterward became Bishop of Peterborough, then of Lincoln, then of Ely; and Ralph Brownrigg, later Bishop of Exeter.

But the literary tradition was strong at Pembroke also. Edmund Spenser, poet laureate for Queen Elizabeth, was a Pembroke man. There 'he became very perfect in the Greek tongue.' Robert Herrick, of Saint John's, 1613, and Edmund Waller, of King's, were poets of the time who had recently been at Cambridge. Edmund Waller, cousin of John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, entered Parliament as Roger Williams entered the University. In Roger's time, Thomas Fuller, later the historian, at Queen's; Sir John Suckling, the lyric poet, at Trinity; and John Milton, at Christ's, were the literary lights of the future, then in residence in Cambridge.

Life at Cambridge was a serious business. There was no question then why a man went to college. He went to be educated, to be fitted for some profession — the law, the Church, letters, or statesmanship. The pursuit of the academic was the training of leaders. Hardihood was required and developed by the following out of the curriculum.

The daily routine of college life in the early seventeenth century began with the morning church service at five o'clock, in the college chapel. Breakfast was at six, dinner at twelve, and supper at seven. Evening service in the chapel preceded the early retiring hour. The long morning and afternoon were devoted to the college and university studies. The student had further thorough training in the classics — Latin was the language of instruction — and in logic or dialectics. He had lectures and examinations by the tutors and lecturers of his own college; and he attended lectures and exercises of the University as a whole, the Public Schools, as they were called, of the University. The studies of Rhetoric, the first year, Logic the second and third, and Philosophy the fourth, were pursued intensively in the separate colleges and tested by public exercises between the different colleges in the Public Schools.

Two opponencies and two responsions in the Public Schools of the University were necessary for the degree of A.B. The subjects of Milton's work at Christ's suggest the similar ones that must have been Roger Williams's at Pembroke. Milton wrote a college disputation on 'Whether Day or Night is the More Excellent'; a college thesis on 'In the Destruction of Anything there is not a Resolution of it into First Matter.' In the Public Schools, Milton's subjects were more ambitious: 'An Attack on Scholastic Philosophy; On the Music of the Spheres'; 'Art [meaning knowledge] is more Conducive to Human Happiness than Ignorance'; 'There are not Partial Forms in an Animal in Addition to the Whole.' Sometimes Milton had a subject less ponderous. At the close of the spring term in 1628, before the sports of the day, he gave an oration in the hall of Christ's College, proving (one hopes) that 'Sportive Exercises on Occasion are not Inconsistent with the Studies of Philosophy.' Additional dignity and impressiveness were given to the college and university exercises by their being in Latin.

Mathematics had little attention; it was but the dawn of the great day of Science. Galileo and Kepler were contemporaries of Milton and Williams, but older men who had already made their great discoveries and given them to the world. In 1616, Galileo had shown that the earth is not flat. Kepler had announced his great 'Laws of Planetary Motion' — the First and Second in 1609, the Third in 1618. But these epoch-making researches in the great field of knowledge, while they had profoundly influenced some great minds, like Bacon, had not yet made their way into the education in English universities. Philology and dialectics were still supreme. The Aristotelian method was the approved path of learning. Candidates for university degrees had to make their way by means of constant practice in debate, or 'dialectical disputation,' on all kinds of metaphysical and moral questions. Roger Williams has been charged with being a disputatious man. He was not more so than other men of his time; but he was on the opposite and unpopular side of the controversy.

Bacon's 'Novum Organum' was published in 1620. Bacon, of Cambridge University, and Descartes in France not long afterward, added two famous names to the history of philosophy. Theirs were great revelations and prophecies, soon to be heeded. In 1653, John Webster voiced the criticism of university training that must have been waxing for more than one decade:

'If we narrowly take a survey of the whole body of their scholastic theology what is there but a confused chaos of needless, frivolous, fruitless, trivial, vain, curious, impertinent, knotty, ungodly, irreligious theory and hell-hatched disputes, altercations, doubts, questions and endless janglings, multiplied and spawned forth even to monstrosity and nauseousness?'

(Incidentally, John Webster shows he had the same training.) In Cambridge, Roger had a chance to copy his great model's, Coke's, disputations and learned arguments in the Star Chamber. He received ample training for the hot and heavy theological discussions that were to prove so large a part of his life in the new world.

Roger Williams was living in the golden age of English literature, but too near it to recognize its glory. The year of his entrance to Cambridge was the year of the publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays — plays which had been on the stage all through Roger's boyhood, and had been published singly from time to time, but doubtless were quite unknown to the Puritan lad. Ben Jonson was the presiding genius of letters all through Roger's life, poet laureate shortly before Roger's entrance into Charterhouse School. Jonson's masterpiece, 'Every Man in His Humour,' in which William Shakespeare played a part, appeared at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and after it many other dramas from the same pen, of which the 'Staple of News,' during Roger's term at Cambridge, though unsuccessful on the stage, was another of his greatest works. Many other dramatists were filling England's storehouse of plays — Fletcher, Beaumont, Marston, Dekker, and Massinger.

Jonson was not only foremost of the dramatists, but leader of the lyric poets as well, though his 'Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes' is the only one of his lyrics which overtops theirs. But the reverence and affection in which they held him is shown in the second stanza of Herrick's 'Ode':

> 'My Ben!
> Or come again
> Or send to us
> Thy wit's great overplus;
> But teach us yet
> Wisely to husband it
> Lest we that talent spend;
> And having once brought to an end
> That precious stock, the store
> Of such a wit the world should have no more.'

Every one in James's Court, from King to impecunious, unknown poet, knew and loved Jonson. William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was his intimate friend, giving him each year a New Year's gift of twenty pounds to buy books. Roger Williams did not frequent taverns or theaters, and looked with Puritan disfavor on the court intrigues and the love affairs immortalized in the graceful verses of the poets of the day. 'Paradise Lost' he was fitted to appreciate; but Milton, his nearest contemporary, wrote his lyrics before the great epic, and those mostly after Roger's departure from England. The prose writers, controversial pamphleteers, were the literary men of the time whose influence was most marked in Roger Williams.

In the time of Williams and Milton, the strict college rules of the statutes of Queen Elizabeth were mercifully somewhat modified in practice. By these rules students must use Latin, Greek, or Hebrew in conversation, except during hours of relaxation in their chambers. In their rooms they must not read irreligious books, keep dogs or cocks, play at cards or dice (except in moderation for twelve days at Christmas). In the town they must not go into taverns, or into the sessions, or to boxing-matches, skittle-playings, dancings, bear-fights, cock-fights, or to Sturbridge Fair, or loiter in the market or the streets. They must be in residence almost the entire year, without 'cuts' except for special reasons. They must stay in their respective colleges, leaving them only for the required exercises in the Public Schools. They could go to town only by special permission and accompanied by a tutor or M.A., unless above the standing of A.B. in the second year. Walking in the Backs and swimming in the Cam were favorite diversions. They wore the scholar's gown with long pointed sleeves, but it might be of almost any color.

There were three terms: the first, from October 10 to December 16 was called the Michaelmas term; the second, from January 13 to the second Friday before Easter, the Lent term; the third, from the eleventh day after Easter to the Friday after Commencement (Commencement being the first Tuesday in July), the midsummer term. Traveling was so difficult that students often did not go home in the Christmas and Easter vacations. Thomas Hobson, the carrier, made a weekly trip from Cambridge to London, with letters and parcels and sometimes passengers, from 1564 to 1630, except in the years of the plague, when his journeys were forbidden. He had long been a famous character in Cambridge and in London, when he came into Roger Williams's life. At the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate Street in London, he was the first to let out horses for hire. He had forty horses. But the customer must take the one standing next the stable door — hence 'Hobson's Choice' — in order that customers and horses might be sure of fair treatment and just dealing.

At Cambridge, as everywhere else in England, the two subjects of interest outside the curriculum were the political relations favoring Catholicism and the persecution of the Puritans. During the three years Roger Williams was in Charterhouse School, the threat of the Spanish marriage had waxed and waned. In the spring of 1623, Prince Charles and Villiers made their sentimental journey to Spain to woo the Infanta. For six months they tarried, and meanwhile Villiers was made Duke of Buckingham. They were unsuccessful in their mission, and the fears of the Puritans were allayed. The universities naturally were hotbeds of theological discussion. With a training that was highly argumentative and the greatest subject for dispute of all times, religion, then a practical issue, it could hardly be otherwise. London felt the reverberations of the polemics. In July, 1625, Parliament made a protest to the new King, Charles I, against the increase of popery at Oxford and Cambridge and a demand for the enforcement of the ancient discipline.

Not all the students at the universities were Puritans. The other temper was well represented. Of the taverns in the town, the Dolphin, the Rose, and the Mitre were the favorites. On December 19, 1625, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and eleven of the sixteen heads of colleges passed regulations containing one to the effect that no woman be employed as servant in any of the colleges. Masques were given at intervals in the different colleges; there were always dramatic performances to entertain a celebrated visitor. Plays were generally in Latin. When King James made his first visit to Cambridge, in March, 1615, four plays were acted on four successive nights. One of them, a Latin comedy, 'Ignoramus,' by George Ruggle, M.A., a Fellow of Clare Hall, was so much liked that praise of it was flung far and wide, and James made a second visit to the University to hear it again. 'Fraus Honesta,' by Philip Stubbe, a Fellow of Trinity, was given in 1616, and again in 1629, in the great hall of Trinity, before the Earl of Holland, the French Ambassador, and some two thousand others. Buckingham visited Cambridge in March, 1627. He bequeathed to the University a library of Arabic manuscripts (collected by the scholar, Erpinius), which he had among his marvelous collection of pictures and objects of art.

But the real test of public opinion in Cambridge in Roger Williams's time came in May of 1626, when the Chancellor of Cambridge, the Earl of Suffolk, died. In the year that had passed since the death of King James, the hopes of the Puritans that in the new King they would find more favor had been quenched: and the belief that the Duke of Buckingham was their real enemy was their only resource against active disloyalty. Time had proved that Buckingham was even more firmly entrenched with Charles than with James. The resentment of the Commons against him grew and became an open breach within a year. In February, 1626, his impeachment was begun with epoch-making speeches by Sir Edward Coke and his son Clem, and by John Eliot. Four months later, it was made formal and a petition sent to the King.

Charles was furious. When the Earl of Suffolk died, the King determined to give proof of his loyalty to his favorite and at the same time show that the learned men of the nation were of his own opinion, by making Buckingham the new Chancellor of Cambridge. Great excitement at Cambridge ensued. Beale of Pembroke urged immediate compliance with the King's will. But opposition was not silent. The Earl of Berkshire, son of the late Chancellor, was named as a desirable successor to his father. So strong was the current running counter to the will of the sovereign that, when the election took place on the first of June, there were one hundred and eight votes for Buckingham and one hundred and two for Berkshire.

The stirring scenes in the House of Commons were closely watched at Cambridge. On the 15th of June, Charles dissolved the Parliament which refused to grant the huge sums of money he asked for, but instead demanded the removal of his best friend from office and power. A month later, Buckingham entertained in princely style at York House the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, the masters of the various colleges, M.A.s, B.A.s, and Proctors, who came in solemn procession to proclaim him Chancellor. Roger Williams may have been in the Pembroke delegation, though without doubt his vote, if he could have had one, would have been for Berkshire as Chancellor.

The lull in the Puritans' anxiety over the proposed Spanish marriage did not last long. The French proposals that followed were hateful to them through the same fear of victory of Catholic influence. When James died in March, 1625, and Prince Charles became King Charles I, hope sprang up that the new King would not be under the power of Buckingham as his father had been; that better times were coming. The marriage by proxy of Charles to Henrietta Maria in Paris on May 1 was the end of all possibility of a Protestant Queen. On her arrival in England, there was no procession, for the plague was raging in London. She would not take part in the coronation ceremonies, since they were Protestant. With her came a retinue of priests and monks and confessors to assist her in the practice of her religion. The presence at Court of these walking symbols of Popery was a constant menace to the peace of mind of the Nonconformists.

At his first Parliament, Charles announced his policy of King greater than Parliament, showing at the start that no more sympathy with the rights of his subjects was to be expected from him than from his father, James. Yet his great need of funds made him so dependent on his people that he was forced to call an unruly Parliament four times in the first three years of his reign. In June, 1628, the great clash came in the famous Petition of Right, carried through the House of Commons by Sir Edward Coke. These doings were closely watched at Cambridge. Joseph Meade, a Fellow at Christ's, in his correspondence through these years with his former pupil, Sir Martin Stuteville, at Delham, wrote in a letter of

June 15, 1628, an account of the scene in the House of Commons ten days before: 'On Wednesday they proceed farther to the naming of him, Sir Edward Coke breaking the ice and the rest following, — "Buckingham, the cause and author of all their misery."' Charles dissolved this obstinate Parliament. He found an old law that ports must furnish kings with ships or ship money for war; and ship money was levied at the rate of two hundred thousand pounds per annum, or one third of the royal income. These continued wrongs swelled the resentment of the people toward the breaking point.

Buckingham, at Portsmouth, about to set sail again for France and the disastrous defense of the Huguenots there, was stabbed by Felton, who was not only redressing his own grievances (he had been at the siege of Rhé with Buckingham, was wounded, had not been given the promotion he deserved, and was in poverty), but who thought also that he was doing a great service to his country in ridding it of its chief enemy. Multitudes of the people cheered him when on his way to the Tower. One old woman called out, 'God bless thee, little David!' At Oxford and Cambridge approval of the learned men was as active and outspoken. Two Oxford scholars, Dr. Alexander Gill, a minister, and Mr. Grimken, were reported to Bishop Laud, to have drunk a health to Felton at Trinity College and to have said: (1) that our King was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop with an apron before him and say, 'What lack ye?' than to govern a kingdom; (2) that the Duke was gone down to hell to meet James there; (3) that he was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honor of doing that brave act. They were censured in the Star Chamber, and were sentenced to be degraded, both from the ministry and the University degrees; also to lose one ear at London and the other at Oxford; and to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. Mitigation of the fines and full remission of the corporal punishment were obtained by Mr. Gill's father's petition to His Majesty, 'which my Lord of London [Bishop Laud] seconded for his coat's sake and love to the father.'

## CHAPTER V

# THE YOUNG CHAPLAIN AT OTES, SIR WILLIAM MASHAM'S SEAT IN ESSEX

IN 1629, Roger Williams had left Cambridge and was living at Otes, in Essex, as chaplain to Sir William Masham. He had taken his degree of A.B. in January, 1627, subscribing as he must to the three articles which James in 1623 had made obligatory for candidates for A.B. and M.A. degrees, though previously required only of candidates for D.D. and the like; namely: first, that the king is the supreme governor of the realm in all spiritual or ecclesiastical, as well as temporal, affairs; second, that the Book of Prayer containeth nothing contrary to the will of God and may lawfully be used; third, that the Thirty-Nine Articles are agreeable to the Word of God. Roger's 'tender conscience' that refuted all three of these claims developed later. He must have studied further at Cambridge before taking orders, probably till the end of the scholastic year, January, 1629; some time before he left England he had gained the reputation of 'a godly minister.'

As chaplain in the house of a country nobleman, Roger Williams entered upon a phase of his life quite different from anything that had gone before or was to follow. Though the term of it was short, its influence upon the rest of his life was large, and in pleasantness it marked an epoch.

Country life in England in the early seventeenth century was very delightful. In the time of Elizabeth the nobility were encouraged to live on their country estates with only occasional residence in London. Both Elizabeth and James emphasized the policy of restricting new building in densely populated London. The frequent ravages of the plague discouraged permanent abode in the City. Parliament was made up largely of country squires like Sir William Masham;

together with rich City merchants and experienced, able lawyers, as Sir Edward Coke, they made a strong House of Commons, fit to oppose a usurping monarch. King James's favorite seat was his hunting lodge in Hertfordshire. The Duke of Buckingham bought from the Earl of Sussex the noble mansion and park of 'New Hall' in Essex in the autumn of 1622, the King having part in the revelries that marked the taking possession. The Duke spent much time in the gardens there with his friend Sir Francis Bacon, another lover of gardens. Sir Edward Coke lived at Stoke Poges, having no house in town, but living at Sergeants' Inn, Chancery Lane, when in London.

Gardening was fashionable. It was of the formal sort, adapted to the great estates of the rich. Hentzner, speaking of Whitehall Palace and its spring garden in 1598, said:

> 'The palace is truly royal, enclosed on one side by the Thames, on the other by a park which connects it with St. James, another royal palace.... Near the palace are seen an immense number of swans, who wander up and down the river for some miles in great security. In the park is great plenty of deer. In the garden adjoining to this palace is a jet d'eau, with a sun-dial, which, while strangers are looking at it, a quantity of water, forced by a wheel which the gardener turns at a distance, through a number of little pipes, plentifully sprinkles those that are standing around.'

Charles had Le Notre, the celebrated French landscape architect, lay out Saint James's Park — connecting three ponds into a long straight canal. Queen Anne had the great English herbalist, Gerard, care for her garden at Somerset House, which James called Denmark House in compliment to his Queen. Gerard, first writer of garden books, had published his 'Herbal' in 1597, with a picture of his own garden in Holborn on the title-page. Bacon's 'Essay on Gardens' appeared in 1597 also, and may have been the model for the gardens at Gray's Inn.

The manor house of the time was built of brick or stone.

On one side of the great hall the passage to the left led to the chapel and the family rooms beyond it; on the other side, to the kitchen and offices and servants' quarters. The bedrooms were on the second story. The hall was a beautiful and imposing room, with paneled walls and decorated ceiling, leaded windows, huge fireplace, and massive carved wooden stairway. At Christmas-time, the lord of the manor entertained his tenants and tradesmen in this great hall. It was the scene of much of the family life, a worthy setting for the indoor merrymakings of the great holidays, and for the exercise of lavish hospitality between neighboring great houses.

In 1629, John Milton wrote to his friend Deodati in the country:

'You seem to be enjoying yourself rarely. How well you describe the feasts and other country pleasures of December, and the cups of French wine round the gay hearth. Why do you complain that poesy is absent from these festivities? Festivity and poetry are not incompatible. Song loves Bacchus, and Bacchus loves song.... And then have you not music — the harp lightly touched by nimble hands, and the lute giving time to the fair ones as they dance in the old tapestried room? Believe me, when the ivory keys leap and the accompanying dance goes round the perfumed hall, there will the song god be.'

The chapel was also a beautiful room. Each of the large houses had a private chapel and domestic chaplain. In great establishments there were more than one. Under Henry VIII an archbishop could have eight, a duke six, an earl five, and so forth. A chaplain dined in the servants' hall, keeping order and saying grace. A great house supported a great retinue. At this time the father of John Evelyn (who was born in 1620), High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, had one hundred and sixteen servants in liveries of green satin doublets, besides several gentlemen of quality, who waited upon him, in the same costume. Such a retinue comprised a land steward, a house steward, a carver, a clerk of the kitchen, cooks of various kinds, butler, pages, maids, waiting-men, game-keeper, park-keeper, gardeners, grooms, coachmen, footmen, huntsmen, whippers-in, stable-boys, trainers, a bailiff of the farm and his helpers, and the chaplain. The chaplain also served as teacher for the pages and young people of the family. The schoolroom was often over the gatehouse.

Food was bountifully supplied, but it consisted mostly of meat, beef, and mutton, salt and fresh, boiled or roasted, game and fish. A certain traveler noted that the English ate less bread than the French. They were very fond of sweets, just coming into fashion, particularly marchpane (a cake of pounded almonds and sugar). And they drank much beer and sweet wine. The customs of the times are reflected in a report of a dinner at the Mitre in London, where there were napkins, tablecloth and knives; and roast beef was served with peas and buttered beans and beer.

Outdoor sports as well as indoor pastimes made life in the country the gracious and beautiful thing it was in those days. Herrick sang its praise in verse:

'Sweet country life, to such unknown
Whose lives are others, not their own,
But serving courts and cities be
Less happy — less enjoying thee.
For sports, for pageantries and plays
Thou hast thy eves and holidays,
On which the young men and maids meet
To exercise their dancing feet —
Tripping the comely country round
With daffodils and daisies crowned.
Thy wakes, thy quintals here thou hast,
Thy maypoles, too, with garlands graced;
Thy morris dance, thy whitsun ale,
Thy shearing feasts, they never fail;
Thy harvest home, thy wassail bowl,
That's tossed after fox i' the hole;
Thy mummeries, thy Twelfth Night king
Thy queen, thy Christmas revellings,
Thy nut brown mirth, thy russet art;
And no man pays too dear for it.'

The English have always been a sport-loving people. Chamberlayn, in 'Present State of England' (1669) listed the many sports of his time and earlier.

'For variety of Divertisements, Sports, and Recreations, no nation doth excel the English. The King hath abroad his forests, chases, and parks, full of variety of game, for hunting red and fallow deer, foxes, otters, hawking; his paddock courses, horse races, etc.; and at home tennis, pelmel, billiard, comedies, opera, masquerades, balls, ballets, etc. The nobility and gentry have their parks, warrens, decoys, paddock-courses, horse races, hunting, coursing, fishing, fowling, hawking, setting dogs, tumblers, lurchers, duck hunting, cock fighting, guns for birding, low bells, bat-fowling, angling, nets, tennis, bowling, billiards, tables, chess, draughts, cards, dice, catches, questions, purposes, stage plays, masques, balls, dancing, singing, all sorts of musical instruments. The citizen and peasants have hand-ball, foot ball, skittles or nine pins, stow ball, shovel board, golf, trol madams, cudgels, bear-baiting, bull baiting, shuttlecock, bowling, quoits, leaping, wrestling, pitching the bar, and ringing of bells, a recreation used in no other country of the world.'

The Puritans disapproved of many of these sports, particularly as they were indulged in chiefly on Sunday. Queen Elizabeth had authorized the practice of recreation for the people on Sunday after attendance at Morning Prayer. It was in consequence of a controversy, resulting from the arrest of Catholics by Puritan magistrates in 1618, that King James ordered his 'Book of Sports' read in every parish church in the country. It declared that the prohibiting of lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays and other holidays after the afternoon sermon or service

'barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when we or our successors shall have occasion to use them; and in place thereof sets up filthy tipplings and drunkenness and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses; for when shall the common people have leave to exercise if not the Sundays and holidays seeing they must apply their labor and win their living in all working days?

'And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is that after the end of divine services our good people may not be disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of May games, Whitsun ales, and Morris dances, and the setting up of Maypoles, and other sports therewith used, as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal, we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sunday only, as bear and bull-baiting, interludes and at all times in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling.'

Sunday sports were not to the liking of the Puritans. A rigid observance of the Sabbath had become one of their distinguishing characteristics. Many Puritan clergymen refused to read the royal proclamation in their churches; and in consequence were fined and imprisoned.

As chaplain at Otes, Roger Williams's lines had fallen in pleasant places. The seat of Sir William Masham was a very lovely place — a moated Tudor manor house in the parish of High Laver, a mile northwest of the church, in the rich farming country of the county of Essex. In the east end of High Laver Church are the tombs of several Mashams. The house is no longer there. It continued to be the family seat till the death of the last Lord Masham in 1776 and was pulled down in 1804. Only a bit of wall, probably part of one of the smaller buildings, and the remains of the moat, with the evident location of a bridge on the curved approach to the house, and of a waterfall and pool, mark the site of the manor house where Roger Williams lived as chaplain. Locke, the philosopher, lived at Otes the last of his life, 1690–1704, with Sir Francis and Lady Masham, and was buried in High Laver Churchyard.

At the Mashams' there was plenty of society of the better sort — not that of the gay and profligate Court, but of the higher type of the landed proprietors of Puritan sympathies and independent political views. The leading class in England was the landed gentry or squires, and some of the most notable men of this class were to be met at William Masham's house. Lady Masham was the daughter of Lady Joan (Cromwell) Barrington, widow of Sir Francis Barrington, of Hatfield Priory, Barrington Broad Oaks, a few miles from Otes. Her sons, Thomas and Robert, were members of Parliament. Sir Thomas Barrington, of Barrington Hall, was member for Essex. Living with Lady Barrington was her niece, Jane Whalley, sister of Edward Whalley, one of the regicides. Oliver Cromwell was another of Lady Barrington's nephews, and John Hampden another — Puritan members of Parliament, men of character and influence, colleagues of Sir Edward Coke.

In the same June of 1628, that the Commons were fighting for their Petition of Right, preparations were being made for the second New England colony by some of the same members of Parliament. John Endicott and John Humfrey bought the land for it from the Plymouth Company — a council composed of nobility and gentry, established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America. Endicott sailed for New England with his colony the last of June and arrived about the middle of September. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Bay Company, formerly the Plymouth Company, in 1629, Governor Craddock proposed

> 'for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing of persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and other weighty reasons, to transfer the government to those that shall inhabit there, and not continue the same subordinate to the company here.'

The next month, at Cambridge, an agreement was made to remove themselves and their families to New England by Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson and John Humfrey (whose wives were sisters of the Earl of Lincoln), Thomas Sharp, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pynchon, Kellam Browne, and William Colburn. Sir William Masham was a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and its undertakings would be known to his chaplain, Roger Williams.

March 4, 1629, a royal charter was granted to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. This charter confirmed the patent given to Endicott by the Council at Plymouth, and enabled the new Company to elect its own Governor, Deputy Governor, and eighteen assistants, from its own freemen; and to make its own laws. Continued persecution of the Puritans by the ecclesiastical party under the indefatigable leadership of Bishop Laud made the idea of emigration desirable and imperative to the harassed and often fanatic Nonconformists.

John Winthrop, of Groton, Suffolk, a lawyer, son and grandson of lawyers, forty-two years old, converted his estate into money (six or seven hundred pounds a year), and came, as first Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, sailing from England on Easter Monday, March 29, 1630, 'with eleven ships containing about seven hundred passengers, and two hundred and forty cows, and about sixty horses.' With him were other men of social standing and importance — Dudley, Johnson, Saltonstall. On June 12, he arrived at Salem. The welcome of the older colony, Salem, where John Endicott and his company had settled the year before, was warm. They had had a hard winter and lost a great many of their members; and their supplies were low.

During the year's preparation for the sailing of Winthrop and his company, Roger Williams must have been well aware of their progress. In a letter written late in life he recalled riding to and from Sempringham with John Cotton and Thomas Hooker, who were well-known silenced ministers, deprived of their livings of Boston, Lincolnshire, and of Chelmsford in Essex, and later famous in New England. Sempringham was the seat of the Earl of Lincoln, a prominent Puritan, one of the group of members of the House of Commons who were resisting the King's encroachments on their rights. In 1638, he was joined with John Hampden in the refusal to pay ship money and was sent to the Tower. At Sempringham were to be met some of the men who were closely associated with the plans for colonization in New England. The fourth Earl of Lincoln, Theophilus Clinton, was an influential member of the Plymouth Company. His sister Frances married John Gorges, son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the colonial proprietors, active in colonial ventures. Gorges had in 1622 with Mason received a grant of land in Maine, from the Merrimac to the Kennebec Rivers, later in 1629 divided between them, Gorges receiving that between the Piscataqua and Kennebec Rivers. Another sister of the Earl of Lincoln, Lady Susan, married John Humfrey, who with John Endicott purchased of the Plymouth Company land between three miles north of the Merrimac and three miles south of the Charles, and extending across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, on which Endicott settled Salem. The Plymouth Company soon found their speculation unprofitable, and surrendered their patent to the Crown. John Humfrey came to Boston in 1634 and was one of the assistants there. A third sister of the Earl of Lincoln was the Lady Arbella, wife of Isaac Johnson, who, with her husband, was in John Winthrop's expedition. Winthrop's admiral ship, the Arbella, was renamed from the Eagle in her honor. Three other members of the Sempringham household came to New England with Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Deputy Governor at the time, and Simon Bradstreet and his wife (who was Dudley's daughter, Ann, 'a poet and most distinguished in a literary way among the early matrons').

Cromwell made his first speech in Parliament, February 11, 1629, and showed himself champion of the Puritans. He declared that he had heard that 'Dr. Alablaster [prebendary of Saint Paul's and rector of a parish in Herts] had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross'; and that 'Mainwaring, so justly censured in this house for his sermons, was preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to Church preferment, what are we to expect?' This was a stormy session of Parliament. But it contrived to pass three resolutions, though behind locked doors, and with the Speaker held forcibly in his chair; one against Popery and Arminianism, one against the King's levying of tonnage and poundage, and one against payment of such levy. March 10, Parliament was dissolved and indictments in the Star Chamber followed; in consequence thereof John Eliot and other leaders were committed to the Tower.

That Roger Williams was on intimate terms with some of the prominent men in the government, and that he was highly thought of by the whole Masham connection, is proved by the evidence of some Masham family letters that have been preserved and are among the Egerton Manuscripts, now in the British Museum. February 20, 1629, Robert Barrington, M.P., wrote to his mother, Lady Joan Barrington, at Hatfield Broad Oak, sending the letter from London by Mr. Williams:

'Mr. Williams who walked the city will be able to say more than I can who have not the least time to be from the business of this house, which, if ever than now, doth require all possible diligence. He can partly tell you what late rubs we have met with, to our great distraction.'

There were other ladies in the Masham household besides Lady Masham. She had been married before to Sir James Altham, of Marks Hall, Latton, Essex, and had a daughter, Joan Altham, as well as a daughter, Joan Masham. The older daughter was therefore called Jug; and Jug Altham had a maid named Mary Barnard.

The maid of a young lady of family was companion as well as lady's-maid and in rank generally only a little below that of her mistress. Ladies of high nobility were waiting maids of the Queen. Sir Richard Saltonstall's daughters waited on some lady of rank. Clergymen's daughters were frequently maids of ladies of title. The Reverend Ezekiel Rogers's daughter 'waited on my Lady Constable.' The Reverend Ralph Josselyn's daughter and sister waited on Lady Harlakenden at Earl's Colne. Thomas Hooker, later Roger Williams's friend, married Susanna, maid, or companion, of his patron's, Francis Drake's wife, whom the Reverend Mr. Hooker had 'comforted.' The pages of a great house were often later known to fame. Samuel Butler, son of a farmer, at sixteen was attendant to Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, and later to several country gentlemen, including Sir Samuel Luke, a Presbyterian clergyman, and perhaps the original of Butler's satire on the Puritans, 'Hudibras.' Butler was in Cambridge at the same time as Roger Williams. Massinger, whose plays were written and published in Roger Williams's youth, was, as a boy, page to the Herberts.

Every one liked Roger Williams. His ardent, generous temperament quickly won him friends. From Sir Edward Coke, the patron of his youth, who called him his son, to Canonicus, chief sachem of the Narragansett Indians, 'who loved me as his son to his last gasp,' and who sent for Mr. Williams to comfort a savage deathbed ('to close his eyes'), the people who came in Roger's path of life loved and trusted him. As a boy he had known a fond mother, now 'an aged loving mother'; and now, as a young man, at the beginning of his career, two young women fell in love with him. The young clergyman has always had a fatal fascination for the susceptible female heart, and handsome Roger was no exception to the rule. That he was handsome to these girls cannot be doubted. He was strong and brave: even when an old man he rowed a boat from Providence to Newport in one day, arriving near midnight. And the light of a prophet of the Lord illumined his face. His tongue was tipped with fire of zeal to heat the words his 'tender conscience' put into his mouth to speak. Hubbard, historian of New England, in 1680 wrote of the 'overheated zeal of Mr. Williams, of whom they were wont to say in Essex, where he lived, that he was divinely mad.' Deeply religious, learned in the Scriptures, skilled in eloquence by long controversial training and experience at Cambridge, he was wonderfully equipped to storm the erring human heart. Filled with unselfish purpose he was well-nigh irresistible. His active, intense, and unafraid personality endeared him even to those — and they were many — whom his 'call' made subject to his rebuke.

Jane Whalley, a lady of high degree, was the first victim of Roger's charm. The course of her true love did not run smooth. Gossip reached the ears of her aunt, Lady Barrington, and Roger was forced to put his intentions into writing and send a 'paper deputie' to his lady's guardian. He at once acknowledged himself 'unworthy and unmete for such a proposition,' because of 'the nearness of her blood' to Lady Barrington 'and godly flourishing branches.' But he had long discovered in the lady 'that sinceritie and godliness which makes the Lord himself to like his creature,' of which he had received some good testimonials from his own experience, more from others, not the least from her good ladyship's self. He had heard objections about her spirit, 'much accused for passionate and hasty, rash and inconstant.' He feared it might be some 'indecorum for her to condescend' to one of his 'low ebb.'

He frankly acknowledged that their financial outlook was not favorable. 'There is one bar that is not likely to be broken and that is the present estate of us both.' 'Her portion that it hath pleased God to allot her (as I hear) is not for present, and happily, as things now stand in England, shall never be by us enjoyed.' He explained, though he would gladly speak nothing of himself, that 'a gracious God and tender conscience (as Balak said to Balaam)' had kept him back from 'honor and preferment'; that he had had 'many former offers' including a late New England call; and recently the proffer of 'two several livings, each of them one hundred pounds per annum,' which he did not see his way clear to accept; that after the death of his aged loving mother, amongst some other children he might expect some twenty pounds or twenty marks per annum; that at hand undisposed of he had 'some seven score pieces and a little (yet costly) study of books.' Thus possessing all things he had nothing, yet more than God owed him, or than his blessed Saviour had himself.

> 'Poor as I am, I have some few offers at present, one put into my hand, person and present portion worthy.
>
> 'I have been told to open to your ladyship the whole anatomie of this business. To wrong your precious name and answer her kind love with want, would be like gall to all the honey of my life and mar my marriage joys. The kind affection of your dear Ladyship and worthy niece is of better merit and desert. I shall add for the present I know none in the world I more affect and, (had the Lord been pleased to say Amen in these other regards) should doubtless have fully answered (if not exceeded) her affection.'

From this last it would seem clear that the lady's will directed the course of this affection.

Roger concluded his manly plea with eloquent courtesy.

> 'The Lord that hath carried you from the womb to gray hairs crown those gray hairs by making your last days like the close of some sweet harmonie; your rest fruitful (like Sarah's) in old age; outshining all those stars that shine about you; going down in peace, rising in glory in the arms of your dearest Savior. To which everlasting arms he often commits your soul and yours, who is the unworthiest, though faithful, of all that truly serve and honor you, Roger Williams.'

Lady Barrington evidently was not moved by this letter to change her opinion as to the unsuitability of the match. It is unfortunate that her reply was not preserved. It may have contained a clue to the tone of Roger's answer.

OTES, *May* 2, 1629

'MADAM:

'I am forc't (with the Seaman) for want of a full gale to make use of a side wind and salute your ladiship by another, being for a time shut out myself. I doubt not but your good wisdom and love have fairly interpreted my carriage in the late treatie, and I also trust, quieted and stilled the loving affections of your worthy niece. We hope to live together in the heavens though the Lord have denied that union on Earth. Dear Madam, let me beg your Christian pardon if I shall acquaint your ladiship with a business of more weight and consequence and much nearer concerning yourself. I beseech you to read no further before you resolve to pardon and take with the right hand of love, from the Lord himself, a message sent by me his unworthy servant. A better hand might pen it. A better heart more tender of your peace and everlasting good, none that know you (if I can) shall carry toward you.

'What I shall now express to your Ladiship hath long lyen like fire in my bones. Jer. 20:9.... Good Madam, it is not for nothing that the God of Heaven hath sent such thunderclaps of late and made such offers at the door of your ladiship's heart. Distraction about children and their afflictions; deprival of a dear and tender yoke fellow, weaknesses of the outward and troubles in the inward man, what are they but loud alarums to awake you?... I know not one professor amongst all I know whose truth and faithfulness to Jesus Christ is more suspected, doubted, feared by all or most of those that know the Lord.

'Woe to me if I shall conceal what great thoughts of heart the Lord suffers yet to be and break forth in his dearest saints about you. [And so forth with many Scripture references.]

> 'Remember, I beseech, your candle is twinkling and glass near run; the Lord only knows how few minutes are left behind.... In that petition my soul follows hard after him and still will I wrestle until you say, a blessing is come, a blessing of heart softened and trembling, of a soul gasping after Jesus Christ, a blessing of joy, refreshing to the faithful and to him who is ever your ladyship's most faithful and truly obedient servant, Roger Williams.'

Lady Barrington was doubtless wise. But the 'rash and unconstant' Jane was too much for her aunt in the end. She married William Hooke, a minister, though son of a gentleman, of Hants. Soon after Roger Williams settled Providence, William Hooke was minister at Taunton, then at New Haven. Two daughters were born to him there (at Taunton, 1639–44). Later he went back to England, first to Exmouth, Devonshire, then as chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, his wife's cousin, at the Savoy. Lady Barrington's action is readily understood. But her only claim to fame is that she did not allow her niece to marry Roger Williams.

Lady Barrington took amiss the frank condemnatory letter of the young minister. She refused to see him, much to the disappointment and disapproval of the Mashams. In the ensuing summer he was very ill of a 'burning fever.' In harvest time, Sir William Masham wrote to Lady Joan, begging her to receive Mr. Williams into her former favor and good opinion and to send him a kind word and to pray for him. Sir William explained that Mr. Williams had been very ill, and that, when they thought he was dying, he had sent his 'humble and affectionate service' to her, and had wished her to know that what he had written to her ladyship in his letter was out of depth of conscience and desire of her spiritual good, which was most precious to him.

Lady Barrington finally relented and gave up her displeasure. Both Lady Masham and her husband gratefully acknowledged Lady Barrington's forgiveness. It was some time later, probably the next year, for it was in cherry time (the letters are undated), that Lady Masham wrote:

'I am very glad you have overcome your passion and will see Mr. Williams. It will be to your great honor to pass by offenses.... He took no unkindness that I could perceive for your not seeing him. He did not speak a word of it till I asked him. He will be very glad to attend you as soon as he can, but it will be long by reason of much business which he hath.'

And Sir William wrote:

'I am right glad to hear of your inclinations to Mr. Williams, who, as to his own soul a good man, is a good friend.'

Roger's disappointment in his first love was in the spring of 1629. A comforter for his sorrow was not long lacking. In 'the heat of the harvest,' Lady Masham wrote to her mother: 'Mr. Williams is going to marry Mary Barnard, Jug Altham's maid.' On December 15, 1629, Roger Williams and Mary Barnard were married at the church of High Laver in Essex: a year later, December 1, 1630, they sailed from Bristol on the ship Lyon, to Boston.

# PART II

# THE YOUNG MINISTER IN NEW ENGLAND

(1631–1636)

# CHAPTER VI

# BOSTON

JOHN ENDICOTT's settlement in New England was begun in the summer of 1628 at Naumkeag, which he called Salem, a Hebrew word meaning peace, the name of Melchizedek's kingdom and the ancient name of Jerusalem. There was already a settlement there before Endicott's arrival, the remnant, under Roger Conant, of one of the many previous unsuccessful attempts to found plantations in New England. Finally, to Salem, came John Winthrop, newly appointed Governor of the Colonies in New England.

Soon after Winthrop's company's arrival on June 12, 1630, it was determined that Salem was not the proper place for the capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The new settlers went first to Charlestown, where a church was formed on July 30. But at the invitation of William Blackstone, the capital was finally moved to Boston, then called Shawmut by the Indians (signifying sweet waters), and, by the English, Trimountain (Fort Hill, Kopp's Hill, and Beacon Hill).

The Reverend William Blackstone had been settled some time at Shawmut, but, after selling the land to the new colonists, he moved southward to a place near to the present town of Cumberland, Rhode Island, where the Blackstone River bears his name. He said he had left England because he did not like the lords bishops, but he could not join with the colonists because he did not like the lords brethren. At a Court, April 1, 1633, it was agreed that Mr. William Blackstone should have fifty acres of ground set out for him near to his house in Boston to enjoy forever. The next year he sold this right to the other inhabitants for thirty pounds.[1]

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[1] His lot was at the foot of the Common, at the corner of Beacon and Charles Streets.

At first Winthrop did not live in Boston, but at his farm, Ten Hills, in Charlestown, nearly opposite the entrance of the Malden River into the Mystic, where it forms a broad bay. Mr. Isaac Johnson undertook and carried out the settlement of Boston. But he lived only until September 30, his wife, the Lady Arbella, having died a month before. Governor Winthrop wrote in his diary: 'He was a holy man and wise, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the Colony.' Others of the colonists settled at Watertown and Dorchester. Captain Squib, who had sailed from England March 20, and had arrived at Nantasket, May 30, had brought West Country people. Mr. Ludlow (who was Mr. Endicott's brother-in-law, and rivaled him in ardor of temperament), Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Maverick and others, were 'set down' at Mattapan (Dorchester).

The new country was not a disappointment to the colonists. Its character and beauty were not unlike the old England to which they were accustomed — deep bays, sweet rivers, forests and hills. Winthrop wrote in July, from 'Charleton in New England,' to his son John, whom he had left behind in England to finish the settlement of his affairs there and to care for Mrs. Winthrop till they should join him in New England at the earliest possible time:

> 'For the country itself, I can discern little difference between it and our own. We have had only two days which I have observed more hot than in England. Here is as good land as I have seen there, but none so bad as there. Here is sweet air, fair rivers, and plenty of springs, and the water better than in England. Here can be no want of anything to those who bring means to raise out of the earth and sea.'

Again in September he wrote to his wife, after telling of certain afflictions by death, 'the Lady Arbella, and good Mr. Higginson and many others':

> 'I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again I would not have altered

my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind, which comes merely of the Lord's good hand; for we have not the like means of those comforts here which we had in England.'

And still again, at the end of November, he wrote to his wife:

'My dear wife, we are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton, yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty.'[1]

Yet during the summer many died,

'some principal persons, Mr. Johnson and his lady, Mr. Rossiter, Mrs. Phillips, wife of the minister and others.... We conceive, that this disease grew from ill diet at sea, and proved infectious.'

Later, before Mrs. Winthrop was to sail to join her husband, he wrote:

'Remember to bring juice of lemons to sea with thee, for thee and thy company to eat with your meat as sauce.'

In late December the colonists began to suffer from the severe cold, to which they were unaccustomed. Till December 24 'there was fair open weather, with gentle frosts in the night, but this day the wind, northwest, came very strong and some snow withal, but so cold as some had their fingers frozen, and in danger to be lost.' By December 26, 'the rivers were frozen up,' and the Colony had a terrible example of the folly of disregard of the rigors of the climate. On December 28, 'Richard Garrett, a shoemaker of Boston, with one of his daughters and four others went toward Plymouth in a shallop, against the advice of friends. About the Gurnett's Nose the wind overblew so much at the north west' that they were forced to anchor. But the wind drove them out to sea and their boat took in water that froze hard. They gave themselves up for lost; but they spied land near Cape Cod, hoisted part of their sail and got to shore. Some of them had to cut their legs out of the ice to get out of the boat. They made a fire, but had no hatchet to get wood, and had to stay out all night in the great cold. The next day two of them started toward Plymouth. They met two Indian squaws, who informed their husbands. The Indians overtook the Englishmen and took them to their wigwams and entertained them overnight, going with them next day to Plymouth. Another Indian went back to find the other English, and built a wigwam for them, and 'got them wood, for they were so weak and frozen as they could not stir.' Garrett died about two days after his landing; and the ground being so frozen as they could not dig his grave, the Indian hewed a hole about half a yard deep with his hatchet; and 'having laid the corpse in it, he laid over it a great heap of wood to keep it from the wolves.' Help came from Plymouth; but three more of the company died. 'The girl escaped best; and one Harwood, a godly man of the congregation of Boston, lay long under the surgeon's hands.'

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[1] Some years earlier, John Smith wrote of Virginia: 'The land was beautiful and one of the most pleasant in the whole world for large and useful navigable rivers. Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation.'

The friendliness of the Indians in everything relating to the colonists was shown on this occasion. They had become accustomed to the English through their dealings with the Plymouth Plantation. Before Winthrop landed from the Arbella in June, an Indian went aboard 'and lay there all night.' The next day, 'Lord's Day, June 13, in the morning, the Sagamore of Agawam and one of his men came aboard their ship and staid with them all day.' Later many visits of Indians to the Colony were recorded by Winthrop, and at the first Court matters relating to them were considered.

The first Court of the Assistants met on August 23 at Charlestown. Present were Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Nowell, Mr. T. Sharp, Mr. Pynchon, and Mr. Bradstreet: wherein the first thing propounded was how the minister should be maintained; Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips only were proposed. It was ordered that houses should be built for them with convenient speed at the public charge. Sir Richard Saltonstall undertook to see it done at his plantation at Charlestown for Mr. Phillips, and the Governor at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson. Mr. Phillips was to have thirty pounds a year till his wife came over, beginning July 10; all this at the common charge, those of Mattapan and Salem excepted. Because of accusations against him for ill-treatment of the Indians, it was ordered that Morton, of Mount Wollaston, be sent for presently. At this their first Court the colonists took up the matter of just dealings with the Indians.

It was also ordered that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, and thatchers take no more than two shillings a day, under pain of ten shillings to giver and taker. Labor troubles were thus encountered at an early date. The building of houses was an immediate problem and the temptation to profiteer was evidently too much for the skilled laborers. In July, Winthrop wrote to his wife, 'I shall expect thee next summer if the Lord please and by that time I hope to be provided for thy comfortable entertainment.' The men of substance had good houses built for them. In May, 1632, the Governor remonstrated with Mr. Dudley for building too costly a house in the beginning of a plantation, both because of the 'necessity of public charges' and of example. But Mr. Dudley answered that the wainscot was for the warmth of the house and that the cost was little, 'being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot.' The poorer people lived in rude huts or even tents. They were afflicted with scurvy and many died. But when the ship Lyon, in which Roger Williams came on February 5, brought a store of lemon juice, many recovered speedily. Winthrop observed that it was those who fell into discontent and lingered after their former conditions in England, who died of the scurvy.

At the second Court of the Assistants, held September 7, Thomas Morton was adjudged to be imprisoned till he were sent to England, and his house burned down, for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanors. And at this Court the plantation at Shawmut was named Boston, in honor of the expected minister, of Boston, England.

The coming of new colonists, much needed for the success of the venture, was eagerly awaited by the little settlements of Massachusetts Bay. On the 22d of February, 1631, a day of Thanksgiving was held for the arrival of the ship Lyon, by order from the Governor and Council, directed to all the plantations. Governor Winthrop had entered in his diary on February 5:

'The ship Lyon, Mr. William Pierce, Master, arrived at Nantasket. She brought Mr. Williams, a godly minister, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, Perkins, Ong and others, with their wives and children, about twenty passengers, and about two hundred tons of goods. She set sail from Bristol December first. She had a very tempestuous passage, yet, through God's mercy, all her people came safe except Way his son [Way was one of the principal men of Dorchester] who fell from the sprit-sail in a tempest and could not be recovered, though he kept in sight near a quarter of an hour. Her goods also came all in good condition.... On February ninth she came to an anchor before Boston.'

This long and very tempestuous passage in a small boat in the dead of winter was a trying experience. Roger Williams twice went back to England in the interests of a charter for his Providence Plantations, but his wife was not induced to cross the ocean again. The passengers suffered from the cold. Even in April, the preceding year, those on board the Arbella found it hard to bear and Winthrop noted the need of 'warmest clothing.' The Arbella, in May, 1630, was 'tossed exceedingly'; it is safe to believe that the Lyon, in the following December and January, was tossed still more exceedingly. The Arbella came to anchor in 'fair sunshine weather and so pleasant a sweet air and a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden.' The Lyon came to port in a frozen land. But the next day, February 10,

'the frost brake up, and after that though we had many snows and sharp frosts yet they continued not, nor were the waters frozen up as before. It hath been observed ever since that this bay was planted by Englishmen, viz. seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year.'

But the perils of the sea, 'the dreadful hand of God at sea,' were not the only trials Roger Williams had to bear during that long voyage. The buffetings of the waves were but a counterpart of the spiritual tossings that had beset him, carrying him away from home and friends, and worldly advantage. In the turmoil of the times, honesty to himself had forced him from agreement with his long time patron and pattern, Sir Edward Coke.

> 'It was bitter as death to me,' [he wrote to Coke's son some time afterward] 'when I went past Stoke House going Bristow way, knowing that your dear father was there and did not sympathize with my going or with my conscience.'

His steadfast consistency of faith had kept him from happy settlement in the Church of England, as he confessed later in his life to John Cotton, son of his famous adversary, John Cotton:

> 'God knows I have much and long and conscientiously and mournfully weighed and digged into the differences of the Protestants themselves about the ministry. He knows what gains and preferments I have refused in universities, city, country and court in Old England . . . to keep my soul undefiled in this point and not to act with a doubting conscience, etc. God was pleased to show me much of this in Old England....'

But the right of absolute freedom of religious belief for every man, without interference from Church or State, had become the guiding star of his life for as long as he should live. His decision to come to America was the sequel to 'that late New England call,' of which he had written to Lady Barrington in the spring of 1629. With what high hopes he neared the shore of the New England that offered relief from the persecutions that made Old England intolerable! And what disillusion was in store for him!

No less eagerly than he anticipated and longed for his arrival in the new Colony was he awaited and welcomed there. With evident respect and gratification Governor Winthrop noted the arrival of Mr. Williams (the title of Mr., then used only of gentlemen, was all that he gave to the famous John Cotton and the well-known Thomas Hooker when he recorded their coming); and Winthrop and Williams were friends to the end of their lives. Governor Winthrop was an older man than Mr. Williams by ten years, a man of wide experience and tested character in Old England, and hence of inestimable value to the infant Colony. Its stormy scene was the proving ground for the yet untried character and ability of Roger Williams. Subsequent events showed that his ability was unusually great, and his character of remarkable strength. Mr. Wilson, the pastor at Boston, was unassisted before the promised coming of John Cotton, and was, moreover, about to sail for England for a visit. But Mr. Williams found the church no less intolerant than that from which he had fled. It was still the Church of England, 'our dear mother whose breasts gave us suck' of the letter which Winthrop and his company, on setting out from England, a year before, had sent 'to the rest of our brethren in and of the Church of England.' They used the Prayer Book of that Church.

> 'Being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston, I conscientiously refused [wrote Mr. Williams in 1671] and withdrew to Plymouth; because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be.'

In refusing the offer of the Boston Church, he was but steadfast in his old and well-known opinion, presented to John Cotton and Thomas Hooker as they 'rode to and from Sempringham,' with his 'arguments from Scripture why he durst not join with them in the use of Common Prayer... in its time as glorious an idol and as much adored by godly persons, as any invention now extant.'

At his first coming to the new country, he plainly announced the controlling beliefs of his thought, that he meant to make the controlling principles of his life: freedom of religious thought and speech from interference of Church or State authorities, bishops or magistrates. This attitude of tolerance and of separation from the Church of England was a distinct disappointment to the Colony, and one which they could not for a moment countenance.

Persecution had not yet begun. The religious controversies that enlivened the early colonial churches had not become the order of the day. Hands and minds had been too busy building houses and making homes. Yet Roger Williams was not the first to find that freedom of religious belief was no more real on this side of the water than on the other. The Browns, Mr. Samuel Brown, lawyer, and Mr. John Brown, merchant, who had wished to use the liturgy of the Church of England, had been banished from Salem, and gone to England. Mr. William Blackstone had settled alone at Shawmut.

Two months after Roger Williams arrived in Boston, he was called to be minister at Salem.[1] At the same time, on April 12,

> 'at a court holden at Boston (upon information to the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endicott

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[1] Mr. Skelton, the pastor at Salem, was a Lincolnshire minister, and may have been known to the Sempringham group, as was Roger Williams. Mr. Higginson, the teacher, who had come with Endicott and Skelton to Salem, in 1628, had died the preceding year. It was his place that Williams was to fill.

to this effect; that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there; and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath nor any other offence that was a breach of the first table [the first four commandments of Moses]; therefore the Court marvelled that Salem would choose him without advising with the council; and withal desired that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it.'

The church at Salem was more tolerant than that of Boston; Mr. Endicott thought all should agree 'in disclaiming the authority of the Church of England.' Salem people wanted Williams for their teacher and later proved their fondness and respect for him by again calling him, but they evidently were unable to oppose the opinion of the Court at Boston at this time. In the late summer, Roger Williams was at Plymouth; and there he stayed two years before returning to Salem.

## CHAPTER VII

## PLYMOUTH

PLYMOUTH was to prove an education for the future pioneer. His two years there were far more valuable training for his future work than he could have had at Boston or Salem. The church was a 'separated church,' but he was not called to it as minister, and was not in its pay, though he preached, or 'prophesied,' regularly. He came into close contact with the Indians, the Wampanoags, who were to be his future neighbors, and the Narragansetts, among whom he was to spend the rest of his life. As a farmer in a small and isolated English settlement, and as a trader and missionary among the Indians, his life in Plymouth was an immediate preparation for the years to follow.

The Plymouth Colony had come to the comparative peace and prosperity of Roger Williams's arrival among them through great hardship in an unwilling land. Their history constituted a series of lessons in plantation by which he was to profit. Their experiences were not far different from those of Jamestown in Virginia ten years previously. Their voyage to the new country was over a 'vast and furious ocean.' It landed them in a forbidding landscape at the beginning of a harsh winter season such as they had never known. In Bradford's words:

> 'Being thus past the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. The savage barbarians when they met with them were readier to fill their sides with arrows than otherwise. And for the season, it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places,

much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Summer being done, all things stared upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage view. If they look behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world.'

On the 16th of December they arrived safe in the harbor of Plymouth; and the 25th day they began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods.

'And after they had provided a place for their goods, or common store (which were long in unloading for want of boats, foulness of winter weather and sickness of divers) and begun some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admit, [they] then met and consulted at laws and orders.'

Saturday, January 20, was the day they made up their shed for their common goods.

'The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty feet square; some made mortar and some gathered thatch, so that in four days half of it was thatched.'

The fencing in of the town was commenced — and nearly completed — in February. There were seven houses at the end of the first year, besides four for the common use of the plantation; and various others in preparation. Later there were nineteen houses in two rows, with a street between, on the hill overlooking the bay. The larger families were allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole (16½ feet) in breadth and three in length; and lots were cast where every man should be. This proportion was thought large enough at first for houses and gardens, which were to be fenced around. The building of the town of Providence in the

Narragansett wilderness presented some of the same difficulties for Roger Williams to overcome. His knowledge of Plymouth's experience was to stand him in good stead.

The provisions of the young Colony of Plymouth were scant, and with the most careful rationing, insufficient to last till the coming of the next boat. At first they were near starvation. But they found a cache of the Indians, with baskets of corn and beans of various colors, which proved a Godsend. There was very little corn to be had from the Indians the first winter, for they were in the habit of planting scarcely enough for their own use. The savages often had short commons as their English captives found out in ensuing years. 'The Indians used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since the English have stored them with their hows'; and shown their industry in breaking up new grounds.

The English harvests were very small at first; so that Governor Bradford wrote of their much-loved Elder Brewster, after his death, and of the hardships he had undergone, that he lived

'many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish and often wanting that also, and drunk nothing but water for many years together.'

'But that which was most sad and lamentable was that in two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them.'

'In the time of most distress there were but six or seven sound persons' who nursed the others devotedly. 'Cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs,' Winslow wrote afterward.

'All this time the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloof of, but when any approached near them they would run away.' But about the

16th of March, a certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English. 'His name was Samoset and he was valuable to them in telling them of the state of the country where they were, the people, their names, number and strength, of their situation and distance from the place, and who was chief amongst them; also of the people to the eastward, from whence he came.' He arranged with them and with Massasoit, the great sachem of the Indians thereabouts whose place was Sowams, some forty miles distant, for a meeting which resulted in a treaty and a lasting peace between the English and the Wampanoags.

Samoset also brought to them Squanto, a native of the place, who had been in England and could speak better English than himself.

> 'Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them where to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died [a year and a half later].'

He acted as guide and interpreter on an expedition with the Governor in aid of Weston's colony in Massachusetts Bay, and they had, by reason of adverse weather, to put in at Manamoyack Bay (Chatham). There

> 'Squanto fell sick of an Indian fever, bleeding much at the nose (which the Indians take for a symptom of death) and within a few days died there; desiring the governor to pray for him that he might go to the Englishmen's God in Heaven, and bequeathing sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss.'

Plymouth people, in the ten years before Roger Williams's coming among them, had learned a good deal about the Indians and had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with them to the great benefit of all future English comers. Squanto was dead; but much of the wisdom the planters had gained from him, Roger Williams made his own and used in his own plantation a few years afterward. When the Plymouth men began to plant their first corn, from the Indian seed corn they had accidentally stumbled upon at their arrival in the country,

> 'Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the manner how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them unless they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing; and he showed them that in the middle of April they should have store enough come up the brook, by which they began to build, and taught them how to take it and where to get other provisions necessary for them.'

From Squanto, too, they learned the Indian character — for he

> 'sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against whom he would, and make peace for whom he would. Yea, he made them believe they [the English] kept the plague buried in the ground, and could send it amongst whom they would.'

After his practices were discovered, Massasoit sought his life both privately and openly. Besides Squanto, another Indian, called Hobamack, came to live among the settlers — 'a proper, lusty man, and a man of account for his valor and parts amongst the Indians' — who continued very faithful and constant to the English till he died.

The early planters at Plymouth tried to cement the friendship they had formed with the Indians by a visit the next July of Mr. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, with Squanto as guide, to Massasoit at Sowams. They took as presents

> 'a suit of clothes and a horseman's coat [of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace, according to Winslow] with some

other small things, which were kindly accepted. Having in some sort ordered their business at home, it was thought meet to send abroad to see their new friend Massasoit and to bestow upon him some gratuity to bind him the faster unto them; as also that hereby they might view the country, and see in what manner he lived, what strength he had about him, and how the ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion.'

The planters early came to understand that it was fear and self-interest solely that resulted in the friendship and co-operation of the natives with the unwelcome usurpers of their land. The natives had yet to learn that these men were a new kind of white men, very different from the heartless adventurers who had at times visited their shores, exploiting them as far as possible, even to carrying them away sometimes as slaves, as in Squanto's case.

'He was a native of this place (Plymouth, then Patuxat) and scarce any left alive besides himself. He was carried away with divers others (twenty from Patuxat and five from the Nausites) by one Hunt, a master of a ship [one of John Smith's ships in 1614] who thought to sell them for slaves at twenty pounds each in Spain; but he, Squanto, got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London [John Slanie in Cornhill], and employed to Newfoundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others for discovery, and other designs in these parts.'

Six months before the landing of the Pilgrims, Mr. Dermer had written home about Plymouth, and the Indians thereabouts, its wonderful situation and fitness for a new colony, except for 'the inveterate malice to the English of the Pokonokets,' near by, to the westward.

'Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made a great slaughter... when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they

(Indians) believe they were, for the French have so possessed them. The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia.'

Except for fear, these really unfriendly Indians would have killed Squanto and Hobamack when they went among them on business for the English.

'A sachem called Corbitant, allied to Massasoit, offered to stab Hobamack; but being a lusty man, he cleared himself of him and came running away all sweating and told the Governor what had befallen him, and he feared they had killed Squanto.... Upon this the Governor taking counsel, it was conceived not fit to be borne.'

Captain Standish and fourteen men were sent against Corbitant, with orders to cut off his head if they found that Squanto was killed. But Corbitant happened to be away and the rest were frightened and trembling; and soon brought out the best provisions they had. Squanto was alive; they had only threatened to kill him. The expedition took home with them not only Squanto, but some wounded men, whose wounds they dressed and cured before sending them back. 'After this they had many gratulations from divers sachems and much firmer peace.' The Indians responded to kind treatment and finally became friendly to the colonists.

About a twelvemonth after the settlement at Plymouth, soon after the ship Fortune had been sent back to England with the fruits of the first year's toil, 'being laden with good clapboards as full as she could stow, and two hogsheads of beaver and otter skins' — for the Mayflower had gone back empty, and the merchant adventurers who had financed her were disappointed and impatient — there came further proof of latent Indian hostility from another tribe.

'The great people of the Narragansetts, in a braving manner, sent a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snake-skin; which their interpreters told them was a threatening and a challenge. Upon which the governor, with the advice of others, sent them a round answer, that if they had rather have war than peace, they might begin when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, or should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sent the snake-skin back with bullets in it; but they would not receive it but sent it back again. This made them [the settlers] the more carefully to look to themselves, as they agreed to enclose their dwellings with a good strong pale and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut which were every night locked and a watch kept; and when need required there was also warding in the daytime. ... By the beginning of March the town was impaled round, in which every family had a pretty garden plot secured.'

About twenty-four households came over in the Mayflower, and a dozen single men; but half of the first comers died.

In the summer of 1622

'they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which their ordinance were mounted and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them in this weakness and time of wants; but the danger of the time required it, and both the continual rumor of the fears from the Indians here, especially the Narragansetts, and also the hearing of that great massacre in Virginia, made all hands willing to despatch the same.'

Such was the temper of the Narragansetts toward the English in 1622. Ten years later it had changed.

Although the Indians were not making war upon the English, they were continually at odds among themselves. The spring after Roger Williams went to Plymouth, Governor Winthrop received letters saying there had been a broil between the English at Sowams and the Narragansetts, that had come to take Ousamequin (Massasoit), who with all his people had fled there for refuge. Captain Standish, sent to relieve the three Englishmen in the house, found them unfurnished with powder and sent in haste to Governor Winthrop for some. Whereupon a messenger was dispatched back with as much powder as he could carry — which was twenty-seven pounds. In a few days the messenger returned to Governor Winthrop with the news that the Indians had left Sowams to fight with the Pequots, and that John Sagamore and Chickatabot had gone with all their men to Canonicus, who had sent for them.

Roger Williams, at Plymouth, learned of the enmity between the Narragansetts and the Pequots; and at the same time became acquainted with Massasoit and the Wampanoags. Here he started laying up that store of knowledge of the Indian language and the Indian character that was of immediate practical use to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the shortly forthcoming Pequot War; and that furnished the material for his book, 'The Key into the Language of America,' a treasury of Indian lore for the aid of his own time and a heritage for posterity. He had begun to be interested in the Indians soon after his arrival in New England, when he wrote to John Winthrop that he 'longed after the natives' souls.' His interest may even have dated back to England, where at various times Indians had been taken as captives by the adventurers and explorers who had landed at many places along the Atlantic Coast and could be seen in public places in London. In 1605, Captain Weymouth had taken five Indians back to England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sent many expeditions of adventurers in the hope of colonizing New England. Pocahontas, of Virginia, went to London as wife of John Rolfe; Jack Straw went to England with Raleigh; Squanto lived with a merchant in Cornhill, John Slanie, treasurer of the Newfoundland Company.

The friendly Indians at Plymouth were not the first of their race to come under Roger Williams's observation in New England. The later Colony of Massachusetts Bay profited by Plymouth's peaceful negotiations with them. In the few months between his arrival on the ship Lyon and his departure to Plymouth, there occurred two Indian visits to Governor Winthrop in which Roger Williams would be greatly interested. In March, Chickatabot, sagamore of Neponset,

> 'came with his sannops and squaws and presented the governor with a bushel of Indian corn. After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco; he sent away all his men and women (though the governor would have staid them, in regard of the rain and thunder). Himself and one squaw and sannop staid all night, and being in English clothes, the governor set him at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned home, the governor giving him cheese and peas and a mug and some other small things.'
>
> [Early in April] 'Wahginnacut, a sagamore on the river Quonehtacut [Connecticut], which lies west of Narragansett, came to the Governor at Boston, with John Sagamore (of Watertown) and Jack Straw (who having served Sir Walter Raleigh in England was now turned Indian again) and some of their sannops, and brought a letter to the Governor from Mr. Endicott to this effect: That the said Wahginnacut was very desirous to have some Englishmen come to plant in his country, and offered to find them corn and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver; and that the country was very fruitful; and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country. The governor entertained them at dinner, but would send none with them. He discovered after that the said sagamore was a very treacherous man, and at war with the Pekoath (a far greater sagamore). His country is not above five days journey from us by land.'

This was the first occasion for talk about settling Connecticut; more of it followed soon.

About a week after the visit of Wahginnacut, Chickatabot came again to the Governor 'and desired to buy some English clothes for himself.' The Governor told him the English sagamores were not accustomed to do trading — 'did not use to truck'; but he called his tailor and gave him an order to make the Indian a suit of clothes; whereupon he gave the Governor two large skins of coat beaver; and after he and his men had dined, they departed.

'In three days Chickatabot came again to the Governor, who put him into a very good new suit from head to foot. Afterward meat was set before him. But he would not eat until the Governor had given thanks; and after he had eaten, he desired the Governor to do the like again, and so departed.'

Again, in July, there was an important Indian episode, the shadow of a coming event in the life of Roger Williams.

'Canonicus's son, the great sachem of Narragansett, came to the Governor's house with John Sagamore. After they had dined he gave the Governor a skin and the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot which he took very thankfully and staid all night.'

Friendship of the English and the Narragansetts was a valuable asset to Roger Williams in starting his new Colony in the territory near Narragansett Bay.

The Indians were not the only source of anxiety to the colonists in the early days. The ravages of fire and the depredations of wolves reduced their resources considerably. By the farmers' burning of the grass, many of their haystacks burned down and their wigwams or tents; but also many of the best houses were destroyed by fire. A week after Roger Williams arrived in Boston, the house of Samuel Freeman, one of the chief planters of Watertown, was burned.

'The like accident of fire also befel Mr. Sharp and Mr. Colburn upon the seventeenth of March, both of whose houses (which were as good and as well furnished as most in the plantation) were in two hours' space burned to the ground, together with much of their household stuff, apparel and other things; as also some goods of others who sojourned with them in their houses.'

The fire started at noon, in the chimney of Mr. Sharp's house (the splinters being not clayed at the top), from which the thatch caught. The wind being northwest drove the fire to Mr. Colburn's house, not far off, and burnt that down also, though most of their goods were saved.

The next month the house of the constable of Boston, Cheeseborough, was burnt down at noon, all the people being present; and a few days later, the house of John Page, constable of Watertown, was burnt when some coals were being carried from one house to another and a coal fell out and kindled in the leaves. Such calamities were object lessons of value later to the founder of a new community. Wooden chimneys, and the form of thatch first used, were found to be unsafe and laws were passed against their use.

Savage men were not the only danger that lurked in the dark woods. At Plymouth, as at Salem, the colonists were sorely troubled because of the killing of their animals by the numerous wolves that roamed the forests. Governor Winthrop constantly notes the loss in his journal:

'The wolves killed six calves in Salem, and they killed one wolf. The wolves did much hurt to calves and swine between Charles River and Mistick. The Governor, being at his farmhouse in Mistick walked out after supper and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf. For they came daily about the house and killed swine and calves.'

There were small pests as well as great ones. The colonists found mosquitoes in the new country. The summer (1632)

'was very wet and cold, except now and then a hot day or two which caused great store of mosquitoes and rattlesnakes. The corn in the dry sandy grounds was much better than in other years, but in fatter grounds much worse; and in Boston much shorn down close to the ground with worms.'

Governor Bradford wrote in reply to the charge made by some discontented colonists returned to England from Plymouth:

'They are too delicate and unfit to begin new plantations and colonies, that cannot endure the biting of a mosquito; we would wish such to keep at home till at least they be mosquito proof. Yet this place is as free as any, and experience teacheth that the more the land is tilled and the woods cut down, the fewer there will be, and in the end, scarce any at all. In the month of May, 1633, there was such a quantity of a great sort of flies, like (for bigness) to wasps or bumble-bees, which came out of holes in the ground, and replenished all the woods, and eat the green things and made such a constant yelling noise and made all the woods ring of them, and ready to deaf the hearers. They have not by the English been heard or seen before or since. But the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and so it did in June, July, August and the chief heat of summer.'

But it was disease that was the greatest destroyer of the early plantations. Pestilence stalked abroad to mow them down, beginning with the sickness of their first landing. At Plymouth the summer of 1633 brought 'an infectious fever, whereof upwards of twenty persons died.' This disease also swept away many of the Indians from all the places adjoining. In the autumn there was an epidemic of smallpox among the Indians and great mortality. Report came to Boston the following January that seven hundred of the Narragansetts had succumbed to the plague. Chickatabot, of Neponset, died and many of his people. But many Indian children escaped and were kept by the English. A few years before the coming of the English, there had been a terrible scourge of smallpox among the Indians, killing a great proportion of them.

When Roger Williams arrived at Plymouth, the Colony had come successfully through the hard first years. They were still struggling to pay off their debt to the merchant adventurers who had helped finance them, and were not recovered from the confusion and setbacks occasioned by the mismanagement of their agent, the Governor's assistant, Isaac Allerton. They had just begun to be prosperous, 'by reason of the flowing of many people into the country,' especially into Massachusetts Bay, 'by which means corn and cattle rose to a great price, by which many were much enriched, and commodities grew plentiful.'

Governor Bradford recorded that

> 'this benefit turned to their hurt, and this accession of strength to their weakness. For now as their stocks increased, and the increase vendible, there was no longer any holding them together, but now they must of necessity go to their great lots; they could not otherwise keep their cattle; and having oxen grown, they must have land for plowing and tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had cattle and a great deal of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scattered all over the bay, quickly, and the town, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thin, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all it would have been less, though too much, but the church must also be divided, and those that had lived so long together in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisions. First those that lived on their lots on the other side of the bay (called Duxbury), they could not long bring their wives and children to the public worship here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competent number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves; and so they were dismissed (about this time) though very unwillingly. To prevent any further scattering from this place and weakening of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to some special persons, that would promise to live at Plymouth, and [be] likely to be helpful to the church or commonwealth, and so tie the lands to Plymouth as farms for the same; and there they might keep their cattle and tillage by some servants, and retain their dwellings here. And so some special lands were granted to a place general called Green's Harbor, where no allotments had been in the former division, a place very well meadowed, and fit to keep and rear cattle, good store. But alas! this remedy proved worse than the disease, for within a

few years those that had thus got footing there, rent themselves away.'

At Plymouth, where Roger Williams had withdrawn because his conscience would not allow him to be the minister at Boston or at Salem, of a people whose beliefs he did not share, but rather disapproved, he held no office of pastor or teacher in the church, though he preached there, 'exercising by way of prophecy,' as was said in those days.

> 'At Plymouth, I spake on the Lord's days and week days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread (and so afterwards at Salem), until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England.'

The Plymouth church had separated itself from all other churches, even its parent organization in Leyden, only part of which came over in the Mayflower. Before the sailing of the Mayflower it 'was agreed on by mutual consent and covenant that those that went should be an absolute church of themselves as well as those that staid.' Their Pastor Robinson was one of those to stay behind. And although his coming over was long wished for, he died, in 1626, in Leyden, before the hope became the fact. Their Elder, William Brewster, took the place of minister in the church at the beginning.

Ralph Smith, the minister at Plymouth, had come to Massachusetts Bay in 1629, and was, for a short time, at Salem. Endicott received a letter from the Governor (Craddock) and Company in reference to Smith's going to Salem, saying 'his difference in judgment in some things from our ministers' might prove distracting in the Salem church. Evidently it did, for he stayed there a short time only. From Salem he went to Nantasket, then to Plymouth, where he was the minister of the Colony for several years. In 1635, he resigned, partly by request from some of the congregation, partly of his own free will.

The churches of Boston and Plymouth were in frequent communication and consultation. In the summer there was strife in the Watertown churches until 'at length the separatists were given a day to come in or be proceeded against.' At the day, all came in and submitted except John Masters. He was excommunicated. But a fortnight afterward he submitted himself and was received in again. The congregation at Boston wrote to the elders and brethren of the churches of Plymouth, Salem, and others for their advice on three questions:

> '1. Whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? 2. If not, then which should be laid down? 3. Whether there might be divers pastors in the same church? The first was agreed by all negatively; the second, doubtfully; the third, doubtfully also.'

This was an example of the endless religious discussions that occupied the leisure time of the colonists. Disputation was their diversion — practically their only one. That same month of July, the advice of the church of Plymouth was sought for the disposing of Mr. Welde. 'At length he resolved to sit down with them of Roxbury.'

In September of 1632, the Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony paid a visit to the Plymouth Colony.

> 'The Governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, went aboard the Lyon and from thence Mr. Pierce carried them in his shallop to Wissaguscus [Weymouth]. The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ship and the Governor and his company went on foot to Plymouth and came thither in the evening. The Governor of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, (a very discreet and grave man,) with Mr. Brewster, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were very kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's Day there was a sacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question to which the pastor, Mr. Smith spoke briefly; then Mr.

Williams prophesied; and after, the Governor of Plymouth spake to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the box and then returned.'

Mr. Williams was a forcibly eloquent preacher. The people at Plymouth liked him and liked his preaching, as had those at Salem. But they could not follow him in his advanced opinions. Governor Bradford thus recorded:

'Roger Williams (a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment) came over first to the Massachusetts, but upon some discontent left the place, and came hither, (where he was friendly entertained, according to their poor ability,) and exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church; and his teaching well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God and am thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth. He this year (1633) began to fall into some strange opinions and from opinion to practice; which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly. Yet afterwards sued for his dismission to the church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soon fell into more things there, both to their and the government's trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars, they are too well known now to all, though for a time the church here went under some hard censure by his occasion, from some that afterwards smarted themselves. But he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter, and desire the Lord to show him his errors and reduce him into the way of truth and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same; for I hope he belongs to the Lord, and that he will show him mercy.'

## CHAPTER VIII

## SALEM

SALEM people wanted Roger Williams back again. Plymouth people were divided. Some wanted to keep him; others doubted the wisdom of it, fearing, as did Elder Brewster, that his radical views might lead him into Anabaptistry, as John Smith, the Se-Baptist, at Amsterdam. But the objectors prevailed. The first week in August his first child was born and named Mary, after her mother. That same month found him back in Salem, and some of his Plymouth followers with him. In the Plymouth church he had hoped to find liberty of religious belief among those who had suffered persecution for its sake. Such liberty he doubtless did find. But separation of Church and State, the logical outcome of religious liberty, and no less important in his eyes — this he did not find.

Whatever Roger Williams believed he proclaimed, loudly and often. It was the prophet's 'call' — but it was impolitic. It got him into the hot water of discussion — and then into the wilderness of banishment. His honest, open, ardent nature would allow him to act no otherwise than he did. Sir William Martin wrote to Governor Winthrop from England:

> 'He is passionate, precipitate, which may transport him into error; but I hope his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the way of truth and confirm him therein.'

He was incapable of concealing his earnest beliefs, though their utterance interfered with his worldly prosperity. He must share with every one his knowledge of the truth. Otherwise he was false to the light that had been given him. He did not — as he has been accused — constantly change his opinions; he was not of 'an unsettled judgment.' But he tried hard to reconcile his beliefs with the existing conditions, at Plymouth and at Salem. His opinions did not change their character after he came from England; they but developed in the favoring room to grow that was here. It was not until he found that he could not live with the colonists and keep his honesty and liberty of thought and speech that he was ready to leave the place of his disappointed hopes and try his spiritual fortune again, this time in a wilderness where none could say him nay.

Freedom from the control of bishops was only half of his belief about religious liberty; freedom from the interference of the magistrates, in religious matters, was the other half, which grew increasingly important in his eyes. The divine right of kings had no foundation in his soul. And as a prophet he must speak out and show the people their errors — the highest as well as the lowest. He had not been afraid to point out her sins to Lady Barrington a few years before; magistrates and elders could not intimidate him now.

'His teaching was well approved in Plymouth.' But the strange opinions that he fell into were not well approved. Governor Bradford, as a church member, was 'thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth.' Governor Bradford, the magistrate, in giving his dismission to the church at Salem, felt it necessary to warn that church 'concerning him and what care they ought to have of him.' For which reason Governor Winthrop requested a copy of the treatise that had caused discussion in Plymouth.

'December 27, 1633, the Governor and assistants met at Boston and took into consideration a treatise, which Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had sent to them, and which he had formerly written to the Governor and Council of Plymouth, wherein, among other things, he disputed their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that, claiming by the King's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwise, except they compounded with the natives. For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers (who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption), they gave order that he should be convented at the next court to be censured. There were three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended:

'1. For that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn public lie, because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land; 2. For that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian World; 3. For that he did personally apply to our present King, Charles, three places in the Revelations.'

New England had been visited, of course, long before the time of Charles, and it was always offensive to Roger Williams, devoted disciple of truth, that the name Christendom should be applied unsuitably to the whole known world, including many sorts of pagans. In his later writings, he often referred to the point, as in the 'Bloody Tenent':

> 'Houdius, in his map of the Christian world, makes this land to extend to all Asia, a great part of Africa, all Europe and a vast part of America, even so far as his unchristian christenings hath gone.... The world is divided (say our ablest cosmographers) into thirty parts; as yet but five of the thirty have heard of the sweet name of Jesus as Saviour.'

'Mr. Endicott being absent, [when the Court considered Mr. Williams's case,] the Governor wrote to him to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errors, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same. Whereto Mr. Endicott returned a very modest and discreet answer. Mr. Williams also wrote to the Governor, and to Mr. Endicott and the rest of the Council very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the Governor of Plymouth, without any purpose to have stirred any further in it, if the Governor here had not required a copy of him; withal offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt.

'At the next court he appeared penitently and gave satisfaction of his intention and loyalty. So it was left and nothing done in it.

'On January 24, the Governor and Council met again at Boston, to consider Mr. Williams's letter, when, with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book, (which, being written in very obscure and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed. Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, or taking an oath of allegiance to the King, it should be passed over.'

Mr. Williams was not elected to office in the Salem church, though he 'exercised by way of prophecy' until after the death of Mr. Skelton, the minister, a year later, in August, 1634. Early after his return to Salem from Plymouth, and before his treatise had been examined and discredited, Roger Williams and Mr. Skelton opposed the other ministers of the Bay and Saugus in the practice they had of meeting once a fortnight, in one of their houses, by turns, when some question of moment was debated. The Salem ministers objected, 'fearing in time it might grow into a presbytery, or superintendency to the prejudice of the church's liberties.' 'But this was without cause,' commented Winthrop, 'for they were all clear on that point, that no church or person can have power over another church, neither in their meetings did they exercise any such jurisdiction.'

Mr. Williams's return from Plymouth to Salem was almost coincident with the arrival in Massachusetts Bay of his future famous antagonist, Mr. John Cotton, and of Mr. Hooker — both ministers of great repute in England and of such prominence, 'being long sought to have been brought into the High Commission,' that they had difficulty in getting out of the country. The pursuants waylaid the ship at the Isle of Wight, knowing that she was bound to stop there; but the ministers were taken in at the Downs in Holland. The ship was the

Griffin, which brought two hundred passengers, among them Mr. Stone, another minister, Mr. Haynes, 'a gentleman of great estate,' later Governor of Massachusetts and first Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Hoffe, and many other men of good estates. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went to Newtowne (later Cambridge) where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton stayed at Boston.

There was great rejoicing at Mr. Cotton's arrival, long anticipated. The town, whose settlement had been entrusted to Mr. Isaac Johnson, of Lincolnshire, brother-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln, had been named in Cotton's honor, from Boston, England, where he had been minister. Cotton was then staying with the Earl of Lincoln; he had been suffering from a tertian ague for about a year and his physician had ordered a change of air. From the same illness, at that time, his wife died, to whom he had been married eighteen years, but by whom he had had no children. The wife who came to New England with him, whom he had married a year later, was the widow of William Storey, of Boston. Cotton had been silenced there in 1630; and after his visit to the Earl of Lincoln, and his marriage, 'he travelled further afield into London and some other places, whereby the recovery of his lost health was still further perfected.' His son Seaborn — Marigena, in the catalogue of Harvard College, 1651 — was born on the voyage to America.

Cotton's advent in Boston was celebrated in a characteristic way.

'On the Saturday following, the congregation met in their ordinary exercise, and Mr. Cotton, being desired to speak to the question (which was of the church), [he] showed, out of the Canticles 6, that some churches were as queens, some as concubines, some as damsels, and some as doves.'

Is it any wonder that Mr. Peters, preaching at the church in Boston in May, 1636, 'made an earnest request that they would spare their teacher, Mr. Cotton, for a time that he might go through the Bible and raise marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the Scriptures'!

Cotton was an eloquent preacher — but of a different type from Roger Williams. So sweet was his discourse that even his opponents were charmed and carried along on its swift stream. All writers, of his time and since, have agreed upon his great and moving gifts as a speaker. Hubbard, in his 'General History of New England,' says: 'Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric; and, as Solomon saith, the soft tongue breaketh the bone.'

His choice of the most passionate love-song in the language as the theme of his first discourse to his new congregation was calculated to confirm his hearers in their former regard and render them thankful for his presence among them. His talents made him a distinct addition to any company in England. In New England, where pleasure and diversion were confined to the meeting-house, his presence was a priceless blessing. The ministers of that day supplied the people with the entertainment their descendants derive from the radio and the movies. His temper was mild and pleasant. With him as preacher, and gentle John Winthrop as Governor, the people of Boston were fortunate.

For there were others of a harsher disposition, who did not approve of leniency. Suspiciously soon after Roger Williams's banishment, at a meeting of the magistrates and ministers called for the purpose, Mr. Winthrop was charged with too great lenity in his administration of the affairs of the plantation. After much explanation, he was convinced of his remissness, acknowledged his fault, and promised to 'endeavor (by God's assistance) to take a more strict course thereafter.' In 1637, when church discussions were hot over the Antinomian heresy, a synod of the church was called to determine the soundness of belief of Cotton himself, in the controversy over his parishioner, Mrs. Hutchinson. But he satisfactorily acquitted himself. Eliot, in his 'Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts,' says: 'In such high esteem was Mr. Cotton held that his word became, as it were, a law to the people.'

It is easy to see why Cotton and Williams could not agree, though both were men of highest education and of unquestioned piety and purity of life. Williams was abrupt and unfaltering in his spiritual denunciations and admonitions: Cotton was tactful and comforting even in reproof. Cotton was fifty years old; Williams some twenty years younger. Cotton thought Williams 'violent and tumultuous,' a disturber 'both of civil and holy peace'; while Williams characterized Cotton 'however in his person holy and beloved, swimming with the stream of outward credit and profit.' But each held the other in respect. Cotton thought Williams so worthy an antagonist that he published in England in 1643 a letter confuting his teachings. Williams, in his answer, called Cotton 'an holy character of an heavenly spirit'; and in a letter to Cotton's son many years later in 1671, he said he 'loved and honored that excellently learned and holy man, your father.' Straus has called Cotton a 'skilful politician as well as a theologian.' Williams proved to be a real statesman as well as a religious thinker.

There was excitement in the Colony at Massachusetts Bay in Roger Williams's last two years there, in the constant arrival of friends from England. Ships came frequently bringing new colonists in varying numbers. Up to 1640, when the impeachment of Archbishop Laud put a stop to the persecution of the Puritans, many thousands of emigrants had left England, draining the country not only of people, but of money and property to the value of four or five hundred thousand pounds. Of four thousand emigrants, seventy-seven were ministers. In the summer of 1634, Mr. Humfrey and his wife, the Lady Susan, one of the Earl of Lincoln's sisters, and in October, 1635, Harry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, were among the arrivals of quality. News came, too, of the arrival of a great ship in the Potomac River in Virginia with a Governor and Colony sent by the Lord Baltimore.

In 1635, there came to New England sixty-nine ships; to Virginia, twenty-one; to Barbados, ten; to St. Christophers, six; to Providence (an island in the West Indies), two; to Bermudas, two. Out of four hundred and nine names, one hundred and six were under twenty, the majority eighteen and nineteen years old. Two hundred and fifty-nine were men and women, more men far than women, between twenty and thirty years old; thirty-four between forty and fifty; and ten over fifty. Among the earlier emigrants were ministers, gentlemen, lawyers, and scholars; but by 1635 by far the larger number were craftsmen and rustics.

Religious persecution was the principal reason for the exodus; but a contributing cause was the favorable report of the new country sent home by the enthusiastic — even though sorely tried — colonists. John Winthrop, from his farm at Ten Hills in 1630, wrote to his wife that New England was a 'paradise'; nine years before that, in 1621, Edward Winslow sent to a friend intending to join him, the following description of Plymouth:

'In this little time [a year] that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others.... We are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty. I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed. For fish and fowl we have great abundance; fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us; our bay is full of lobsters all the summer and affordeth variety of other fish; in September we can take in a hogshead of eels in a night with small labour and can dig them out of their beds all the winter; we have mussels and others at our doors; oysters we have none here, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will; all the spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good salad herbs; here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also. Strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, etc. Plums of three sorts, white, black and red, being almost as good as Damson; abundance of roses, white, red and damask single, but very sweet indeed. The country wanteth only industrious men to employ, for it would grieve your hearts (if as I) you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited.'

Winslow was writing soon after harvest time, when the pinch of want was not felt. But many of those who came later, who knew not how 'to stoop to a wilderness condition, which they had freely chosen for themselves, for the quiet of their minds and the good of posterity,' felt the privations more keenly than they did the blessings of pioneer life. Eliot recorded that

'several ministers came over to America, some with high-raised expectations that the country was better than they found it and that they could live here in as easy circumstances as among the European settlements. They soon found themselves deceived.... Those men are only calculated to settle a new place who can endure hardships; and those ministers were only fit for New England who could conform themselves to the habits of the people, or yield to some of their peculiarities.'

Before the arrival of the Griffin, several ships had brought several hundred passengers, who had distributed themselves in the various settlements around Boston. The distinguished Mr. Hooker, who came with John Cotton, and went first to Newtowne, felt that it was 'a fundamental error that towns were set so near to each other.' In the General Court of September 4, 1634, the people of Newtowne asked that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. Their reasons were that in Newtowne they had not meadows for their cattle, so that they were not able to maintain their ministers, or to receive any more of their friends to help them; and that 'the fruitfulness and commodiousness' of Connecticut, and the danger of its being possessed by others, Dutch or English, gave their spirits 'a strong bent to remove thither.'

The rest of the Colony opposed their going, particularly because they did not want to lose Mr. Hooker. When the vote was taken, it was not sufficient to give consent to the request. After much debate, 'the whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations.' When the Court next met,

'before they began, Mr. Cotton preached. He took his text out of Hag. II, 4, out of which he laid down the nature or strength of the magistracy, ministry and people... which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased the Lord so to assist him that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully; and although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtowne came and accepted such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown; and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed.'

Only for a time, however. In the spring, less than a year later, on the 31st of May, 'Mr. Hooker and the most of his congregation went to Connecticut. His wife was carried in a horse-litter; and they drove one hundred and sixty cattle and fed of their milk by the way.' In his journal Governor Winthrop makes no comment. But it must have been a blow to the theocracy of Boston. Mr. Hooker, however, was still available in Boston to assist in the trial and banishment of Roger Williams, chief of the opponents of theocracy.

Clear and certain in his now settled conviction that civil government has no authority over what a man thinks, and goaded by his inward compulsion to spread the truth as he knew it, Roger Williams at Salem was fearless and free in his utterances. On his first coming to Boston, he had found the church to be the Church of England, from which he and they had fled to escape the domination of the bishops. He could not join with the Boston church. The church at Salem, under Mr. Skelton and Mr. Endicott, was in sympathy with his views, and invited him to be their teacher, though he was not allowed by the united Church-and-State Government of the

Colony at its capital, Boston. The Plymouth people were a 'separated' people, he found; he joined their church and preached there. But as he lived in Plymouth, he learned that, though the church was separated from the Church in England, it was still bound to the Government. It could not agree with him in his 'strange opinions,' such as: 'that the King had no right to give away lands in America that belonged not to him but to the Indians'; that 'the whole nations and generations of men have been forced (though unregenerate and unrepentant) to pretend and assume the name of Jesus Christ (Christendom) which only belongs, according to the institution of the Lord Jesus, to truly regenerate and repenting souls'; that the magistrates should not have authority over the religious beliefs a man held. Mr. Williams insisted that the magistrates had no right to punish a man for his spiritual sins, 'a breach of the first table' (the first four of the commandments and law of Moses, which concern only a man's relation to his God). He taught that an oath, a calling upon God to witness, was an act of worship, and should not be required of 'an unregenerate man,' since it caused him to take the name of God in vain. Plymouth people did not want a minister teaching such strange doctrines. Salem did want him. Salem agreed with him and followed his lead.

Public debates, 'speaking to the question' on matters of doctrine, were the custom in all the churches. But free speech was not tolerated any more than free thought. Opinions expressed were subject to correction by 'the Boston Court — the Puritan Star Chamber.' It was informed that Mr. Eliot, the teacher of the church at Roxbury, had taken occasion in a sermon to speak of the peace made with the Pequots and to lay some blame upon the ministry for proceeding therein without the consent of the people, and for other failings (as he conceived). This was John Eliot, afterward missionary to the Indians, who translated the Bible into their language. The Court 'took order that he should be dealt with by Mr.

Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Welde, to be brought to see his error and to heal it by some public explanation of his meaning.'

This same Court

> 'was likewise informed that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to them in teaching publicly against the king's patent and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country and for usual terming the churches of England anti-christian.'

He was summoned to appear at the next Court. Mr. Cotton's own idea of the state of the English churches was not different from that of Roger Williams. In his 'Bloody Tenent Washed,' Mr. Cotton was grieved

> 'that there is yet so much of these notorious evils still continuing in the parishes [in England], worldliness, ignorance, superstition, scoffing, swearing, cursing, whoredom, drunkenness, thieving, lying, also murder and malignity against the godly, suffered to thrust themselves into the fellowship of the churches and to sit down with the saints at the Lord's table.'

Five months later the Governor and assistants again sent for Mr. Williams, because

> 'he had taught publicly that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God and cause him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the ministers and very clearly confuted. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but he gave place to the truth.'

In the 'Bloody Tenent,' Roger Williams's own words define an oath:

> 'an oath, being an invocation of a true or false God to judge in a case, is an action of a spiritual and religious nature, whatever the subject matter be, about which it is taken, whether civil or religious.'

Again, in two months, at the General Court, Mr. Williams of Salem was summoned and appeared, and was charged with 'divers dangerous opinions — as that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table otherwise than in such cases as disturbed the civil peace.' It was recorded that the other churches were about to write the church in Salem to admonish him of these errors, but that the church had since called him to the office of teacher. There was much debate about these things, and the said opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers (who were desired to be present), to be erroneous and very dangerous. The calling of him to office in Salem at that time was judged a great contempt of authority. Finally time was given to him and to the church in Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court or else to expect the sentence:

'it being professedly declared by the ministers (at the request of the court to give their advice) that he who should obstinately maintain such opinions (whereby a church might run into heresy, apostasy, or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle) was to be removed and that the other churches ought to request the magistrate so to do.'

At this same time the men of Salem had sent in a petition to the General Court for some land in Marblehead which they said belonged to Salem. Their petition was refused, because they had chosen Mr. Williams for their teacher while he was under question of authority; and so they had been guilty of contempt of court. The church of Salem thereupon wrote to the other churches to admonish the magistrates and deputies that this was a heinous sin. At the next General Court the Salem deputies were not received until they should give satisfaction about the letter.[1]

All these discussions and cares had an ill effect on Mr. Williams's health. He wrote

'that his life was in danger by his excessive labors,

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[1] The land at Marblehead was granted to Salem after the banishment of Roger Williams.

> preaching three times a week; by labors night and day in the field; and by travels night and day to go and come from the court.'

But he continued his struggle by letter. 'Mr. Williams, pastor of Salem, being sick and not able to speak, wrote to his church a protestation' that he could not 'communicate with the churches in the Bay, nor with themselves unless they would refuse communion with the rest. And the whole church was grieved herewith.' At the General Court in October, he was charged, in the presence of all the ministers in the Bay, with the two letters — the one to the other churches complaining of the injustice and oppression of the magistrates; and the one to his own church to persuade them to give up communion with the other churches in Massachusetts Bay Colony, as being full of 'antichristian pollution.' He justified both these letters and maintained all his opinions. He was offered a chance for further disputation, or a month's respite, and chose immediate debate. Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, 'but could not reduce him from any of his errors.'

In his 'Magnalia,' Cotton Mather gives his version of a part of a debate in court between Mr. Williams and Mr. Hooker.

> 'Mr. Williams complained in open court that he was wronged by a slanderous report, as if he held it unlawful for a father to call upon his child to eat his meat. Mr. Hooker, then present, being moved hereupon to speak something replied, "Why, you will say as much again, if you stand to your own principles, or be driven to say nothing at all." Mr. Williams, expressing his confidence that he should never say it, Mr. Hooker proceeded: "If it be unlawful to call upon an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an act of God's worship then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat. If it is unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his own meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it, for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsancti-

fied (1 Tim. IV, 4 & 5). If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it, for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin."'

Cotton Mather does not record Mr. Williams's answer; he was not approving of the young minister; on the contrary! But it seems probable to the reader to-day that Roger Williams, trained as he was, at Cambridge, in the art of disputation and by long discipleship with Sir Edward Coke, would detect the error in Mr. Hooker's argument and confute it without trouble.

Mr. Hooker disapproved of Roger Williams on another score. He did not approve of smoking; on an historic occasion, which Cotton Mather also reports, he reproved Mr. Stone, the minister who came with him and Mr. Cotton to Boston, for smoking, saying 'it was then used by few persons of sobriety.' It is pretty certain that Mr. Williams was a smoker. In his earliest days in Providence he was extremely solicitous about a large quantity of tobacco that he had bought which did not arrive there.

The next morning after the trial, the Court sentenced Roger Williams to depart out of their jurisdiction within six weeks, all of the ministers, save one, approving the sentence (Mr. Peters advocated excommunication, instead of banishment — so Mr. Williams wrote to John Cotton in 1671). The Salem church also openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote a humble submission to the magistrates for joining with him in the letter to the other churches against them; so that Williams refused communion with them. The sentence against Roger Williams, which was never repealed, although John Winthrop suggested it in 1638, stands in the Colonial Records, I, 163:

'Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the Church at Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retraction; it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which, if he neglect to perform it, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without written license from the Court.'

Thus Roger Williams met the fate that was meted out to whoever made spoken or written criticism of the Government of the magistrates or the church, beginning with Henry Lynn in 1630. Governor Haynes and Thomas Hooker, who agreed to the banishment of Roger Williams, themselves met a like fate a year later.

In this same month of October, when sentence of banishment was pronounced against Roger Williams, another child was born to him and Mary Williams, a daughter, whom he, in evident protest against the treatment he was receiving, named Freeborn. This same month there arrived in Boston a young man, who, if not already a friend of Mr. Williams, was to be a very close friend in years to come. 'Mr. Henry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the King's house, a young gentleman of excellent parts,' who had been employed in foreign affairs by his father, when he was ambassador; who forsook the honors and preferments of the Court to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here. His father disapproved of his coming, but the King gave him permission and license for three years' stay.

The Court had given Mr. Williams liberty to remain within their borders till spring, with the injunction laid upon him not to go about to draw others to his opinions. But they were 'credibly informed that he entertained company in his house, and preached to them, even of such points as he had been censured for; and that they were intending to erect a plantation at Narragansett Bay from whence the infection would easily spread into the churches of Massachusetts Bay (the people, many of them, being much taken with the apprehension of his godliness).'

It was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. A warrant was sent to him to come at once to Boston to be shipped.

'When he would not come a pinnace was sent with commission to Captain Underhill to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship which then rode at Nantasket. But when they came to his house they found he had been gone three days before, whither they could not learn.'

He had so far prevailed at Salem, however, that many there, especially devout women, embraced his opinions and separated from the churches. And later, in April, at Salem, 'the Church was still infected with his opinions' so that some of them held it was not lawful to go to the ordinary assemblies in England, 'false churches,' as they called them. The Salem church sent two brethren and a letter to the elders of the other churches for advice; 'whether to grant dismission to the dissenters, three men and eight women, to form a church by themselves. This was opposed.'

Thus ended another chapter in the life of Roger Williams, the last of his preparation for his great work — the establishment of a community where freedom of religious belief was assured to every person; where all were welcome whatever their belief; and where Church and State had full liberty to develop, without interference the one from the other.

# PART III

# ROGER WILLIAMS AMONG THE NARRAGANSETTS

# (1636–1643)

## CHAPTER IX

## THE FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE

AN exile from England, though a voluntary one, and under sentence of banishment from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Roger Williams must have somewhere to lay his head. Governor John Winthrop, his loving friend till death, in a private letter, advised him to steer his course to Narragansett Bay and the Indians there, because of 'the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents' — also for 'many high and heavenly and public ends.' Mr. Winthrop was aware of Mr. Williams's wish to be a missionary to the Indians. It was four years since the young minister had written from Plymouth to his friend, the Governor of the Bay, that he never should be an elder in any church, 'if the Lord please to grant my desires that I may intend what I long after, the natives' souls.' He had been disappointed and disillusioned in finding the New England churches no less intolerant than the churches of Old England. In the theocracy at Boston, a freeman must be a church member. They had cast off 'bishops and ceremonies,' but 'they yet saw not the evil of a national church.'

The prophet of the Lord could not live among his fellow men without

> 'humble and faithful and constant admonishing of them, of such unclean walking between a particular church and a national....'

At last he suffered for such admonitions to them, the misery of 'banishment among the barbarians,' 'in winter snow, which he yet felt' in 1670.

These barbarians, however, were his friends. At Plymouth he had come to know them well. God was pleased to give him

> 'a painful patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes (even while he lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue.'

He became familiar with their mode of life, their customs, and their character. He gained their confidence by his dealings with them, and their gratitude by his presents to them. He preached to them and told them of the one God, whom they were ready to believe was better than their gods, since his care of the English so far surpassed the care of their gods for them. He visited the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts, and whatever other tribes were adjacent or available. While he was at Salem, he 'had several treaties with Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief sachems of the Narragansetts.'

The Indians were in winter quarters in the woods, as was their habit during the months of greatest cold and snow. They lived in wigwams or tents, made of poles set in a circle and bent inward, covered with bark or mats of plaited flags. A hole was left at the top as an outlet for the smoke from the fire, which was built in the middle of the tent. On it the squaws did the cooking: and around it all the family slept at night. 'For bedding they laid down bark, on which they spread bearskins.' 'They slept in a crooked posture all around the fire, as the length of their beds would not admit of stretching themselves.' Their bodies were naked except for a loincloth and a pelt of some fur, and moccasins of elk or deerskin when they went out in the snow or for running.

The men went hunting for food, while the women stayed at home, gathered and split wood, made mats and baskets, pounded the Indian corn which had been harvested and stored in the ground, and cooked the food the hunters brought home. In mid-winter that would be bear or beaver meat, which they ate with ground-nuts (Indian potatoes) and hominy.[1] Some meat they dried and smoked for future use. John Gyles, commander of a garrison in Maine on the Saint George's River, Indian captive in 1689, related in the story of his captivity that 'the way they [Indians] preserve meat and fish, such as salmon, is by taking the flesh from the bones and drying it in smoke, by which it is kept sound months or

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh introduced the potato into Munster, Ireland, in 1584.

years without salt.' It became a great delicacy, when eaten with maple sugar, of which they were very fond, and which they gathered in quantity in the early spring, before planting time. The squaws made pails and baskets of bark to catch the sap, and boiled it down in great kettles, or put it in shallow pans made of bark and allowed it to freeze several times till the water was out of the syrup. They ate it mixed with bear's grease or oil, which they also collected and kept stored in skins. They were exceedingly hospitable: all their supplies were carefully divided, with equal portions for every member of the household, although they often had scant rations.

When hunting for bears, they would find 'a tree scratched by the bears climbing up (the female bear lodges in hollow trees (the upper part) in winter: the male always lodges in the ground, under the roots of trees) and the hole in the tree sufficiently large for the reception of the bear: they then felled a sapling or small tree, against or near the hole: one of them climbed up and drove out the bear, the other then shot him.'

The staple of their diet was the Indian corn. 'To dry corn when in the milk they gather it in large kettles and boil it on the ears till it is pretty hard, then shell it from the cob with clam shells, and dry it on bark in the sun. When it is dry a kernel is no bigger than a pea and would keep years, and when it is boiled again it swells as large as when it was on the ear and tastes incomparably sweeter than other corn.' Corn, thus dried, was stored 'in Indian barns, that is, holes in the ground, lined and covered with bark, and then with dirt.' A few kernels of dried corn often served a hunter for a meal; it was carried in a pouch tied around the neck.

'Corn, pounded into coarse meal or hominy, was boiled in water till it appeared like well thickened soup.' Mrs. Rowlandson, who was an Indian captive forty years later during King Philip's War, was sold by her first captor, a Narragansett, to Quannopin, a sagamore married to King Philip's sister-in-law. She was once invited to dinner by King Philip, for whose boy she had made a cap. 'He gave me a pancake about as big as two fingers. It was made of parched wheat, beaten and fried in bear's grease, and I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life.' The famous Rhode Island jonny-cake, made of scalded corn meal, fried in small cakes in pork fat, would seem to be closely related to this pancake of King Philip's dinner-party. Steamed clams and jonny-cakes or corn bread are our worthy survivals of excellent Indian fare. They also boiled their corn with beans, making succotash, a dainty morsel to this day.

When the spring came and the rivers broke up, there was plenty of fish. The Indians took to their canoes (made of birch bark or of 'moose-hides, sewed together and the seams pitched with balsam mixed with charcoal,' or the trunk of a tree hollowed out). In his 'Key' Roger Williams described a hunting trip with an Indian, and the making of a canoe.

For diversion in the winter there was not much but feasting when the hunt was successful, and sitting around the fires in the big hut and smoking. Colonel Smith, a later Indian captive, reported that 'they are very fond of tobacco, and the men almost all smoke it mixed with sumac leaves or red willow bark, pulverized, though they seldom use it in any other way.' He described the building of a big log cabin for the winter, made of fifteen-foot logs, fifteen feet long, twelve feet wide, four feet high at the sides, but twelve feet high in the middle. At the ends split timber was set up, except for a door at each end. Small poles were used as laths, and they were covered with 'lynn [linden] bark, which will run even in the winter season.'

The squaws made the mats for the wigwams, and the bark and grass baskets and pails and pans. Mrs. Rowlandson's master's wife was Wettimore, who had been the wife of Alexander, Philip's elder brother. 'A severe and proud dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself near as much time as any of the gentry of the land, powdering her hair and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads.' In the winter the boys of the camp mended the nets and traps.

Roger Williams treated the Indians with the same wholehearted generosity that marked his intercourse with his English friends.

> 'I spared no cost toward them, and in gifts to Ousamequin [Massasoit of the Pokonokets or Wampanoags, near Plymouth] and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narragansetts; and therefore when I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin and the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English to his last breath. I never denied him or Miantonomo whatever they desired of me, as to goods or gifts or use of my boats or pinnace and the travels of my own person, day and night, which though men know not or care to know, yet the all-seeing Eye hath seen it, and his all-powerful hand hath helped me.'

He wanted to be a missionary to the Indians. His banishment brought about his soul's desire in a manner he had not intended.

It was a hard winter. He had been ill, and was not yet recovered. He wrote late in his life to Major Mason and to the Commissioners of the United Colonies:

> 'I was unmercifully driven from my chamber to a winter's flight, exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships, of sea and land, in a banished condition. For one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, I was sorely tossed and knew not what bread or bed did mean.'

But he had decided that his future was to be that of a missionary among the Indians rather than that of a minister among the English.

> 'My soul's desire was to do the natives good and to that end to learn their language (which I afterwards

> printed) and therefore I desired not to be troubled with English company. Out of pity, I gave leave to several persons to come along in my company.'

The early spring of 1636 found him, with a few companions, established in Seekonk, on the shores of the Seekonk River. The men, whom 'out of pity' he had allowed to accompany him, were his twelve-year-old servant, Thomas Angell; William Smith, the miller, who had been banished from Dorchester; Francis Wickes, a young man Smith brought with him; a lad of Richard Waterman's (Waterman joined them later); Joshua Verin, a roper of Salem; and William Harris, a young man who came over on the ship Lyon with Roger Williams, and cast in his fortunes with him, for life as it proved. They had already 'begun to build and plant' in Seekonk when they were forced to move on still farther. A letter from his old friend, Governor Winslow of Plymouth,

> 'professed his own and others' love and respect to [the exile], yet lovingly advised him, since he was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water. Then he would have the country free before him, and might be as free as themselves, and they would be loving neighbors together.'

With his companions, therefore, he set out by boat to get away from the jurisdiction of the English. Tradition has it that as they neared Slate Rock, jutting out on the other side of the river, they heard the friendly hail, 'What cheer, netop?' ('netop' meaning friend, and 'what cheer' the common English salutation of the times) from a group of Indians there. Williams stopped to get the advice of his allies, who knew from long experience the first requirement for a wilderness settlement. 'The savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head,' Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, discovered. They directed Roger and his little company around the point to the southward (Fox Point) and up the great salt river to a point where two fair fresh rivers emptied into it, and there was a great spring of fresh water on the bank of one of them. Here the Indians welcomed the strangers, and, after their invariable custom of hospitality, shared their food with them, succotash and boiled bass, which were at the moment cooking. By the spring Roger Williams pitched his final camp, and named the place Providence,

> 'from the freedom and vacancy of the place and many other providences of the most holy and only wise.'

The Seekonk land Roger Williams bought of Ousamequin — Massasoit — his Plymouth neighbor; the new situation, of Canonicus and Miantonomo, Narragansett sachems, uncle and nephew, whom also he had long known.

> 'I was known to all the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts to be a public speaker at Plymouth and Salem and therefore with them held as a sachem. I could debate with them (in a great measure) in their own language. I had the favor and countenance of that noble soul, Mr. Winthrop, whom all Indians respected.'

It was a beautiful land that he had received from the Indians — a characteristic and lovely bit of that 'paradise' of New England that John Winthrop wrote home to England about when he first settled on his farm at Ten Hills at the mouth of the Mystic River. Williams's land was at the mouth of the two rivers, the Moshassuck and the Woonasquatucket, where they flow into the great, far-southward-stretching Narragansett Bay. Besides its abundant supply of fresh water — for it was a large spring, forming a pool, and then flowing down into the river — the spring on the bank of the Moshassuck where he built his house was ideally situated to provide shelter and food. Behind it rose sharply for a hundred feet a long wooded hill, protection from the north and east winds. In front, on the shore were great clam beds, while the rivers and the bay beyond teemed with fish and shell fish; and to the westward stretched rich bottom lands, for meadows for cattle and for planting.

The first (verbal) bargain between Roger Williams and the Indians was later ratified by a deed which Canonicus and Miantonomo gave him and which is still preserved in the City Hall at Providence.

'At Narragansett, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of the plantation or planting at Moshassuck or Providence; Memorandum, that we, Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief sachems of Narragansett, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the land and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket, do now, by these presents, establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the river and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug on the west. We also in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for use, both with our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Connecticut, and Apaum or Plymouth, we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pawtuxet river; as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtuxet river. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands.

'The mark (a bow) of Canonicus
'The mark (an arrow) of Miantonomo

'In the presence of:
'(the mark of) Sobash
'(the mark of) Alsomunsit

'1639: Memorandum, 3d month, 9th day, this was all again confirmed by Miantonomo. He acknowledged that he also (illegible) and gave up the streams of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, without limits, we might have for our use of cattle.

'Witness hereof,

'Roger Williams
'Benedict Arnold'

Building a house for his wife and the two babies was the first care of the great pioneer. It was necessarily a simple house, for neither finished materials nor skilled labor were available, as it was in Boston and Salem. He had mortgaged his own good house in Salem, and put it in the hands of an agent for sale. The one at Providence was probably like the first houses at Plymouth; of two rooms, a living-room or fire-room below, and a sleeping-room above, reached by a ladder. The Eleazer Arnold house, built in 1687, still standing in Lincoln, an old tavern on the way north by the Moshassuck, now the property of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, is the same type of house. Roger's house, perhaps forty feet long, and nearly square, served as the first public meeting-place and lodged occasional English travelers and frequent Indian guests, sometimes fifty at a time. The next spring he wrote, in a letter to Governor John Winthrop:

> 'Miantonomo kept his barbarous court lately at my house.... He takes some pleasure to visit me, and sent me word of his coming over again some eight days hence.' The old man Canonicus was slower in his welcome to the newcomers. In the same letter, Williams wrote: 'At my first coming to them Canonicus was very sour and accused the English and myself for sending the plague among them and threatening to kill him especially. Such tidings it seems were lately brought to his ears by some of his flatterers and our ill-wishers. I discerned cause for bestirring myself and staid the longer; and at last (through the mercy of the Most High) I not only sweetened his spirit but possessed him that the plague and other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being displeased with the English for lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness (the natives' epidemical sins) smote many thousands of us ourselves with general and late mortalities.'

Mrs. Williams with her children soon joined her husband. Little Mary was two years old, and Freeborn but a few months. To the new settlement came also other families from Salem — Stukely Westcott, Thomas Olney, and John Throckmorton. For 'the Church at Salem was still infected with Mr. Williams's opinions,' Governor Winthrop observed in his diary in April. 'Some went so far as they were ready to separate from the church.' The elders of all the churches — meeting at Newtowne the month before to approve the request of 'Mr. Shepherd, a godly minister, come lately out of England, to raise a church body there' (for Mr. Hooker and his whole church were removing to Connecticut) — had decided the question of what number were needful to make a church. Some of the ancient ministers conferring shortly together, gave answer:

> 'That the scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three they thought were too few, because by Matthew XVIII an appeal was allowed from three; but seven might be a fit number.'

The eleven at Salem, however, were not asking permission for a new church on proper grounds, so they were refused and were constrained to follow their prophet into the wilderness if they clung to their 'corrupt doctrines.'

Salem was not the only church that was giving trouble to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and sending some of its members to join Roger Williams. For more than a year there had been dissensions in the church at Saugus, where 'divers of the members of that church, not liking the proceedings of the pastor, and withal making question whether they were a church or not, did separate from church communion.' 'The distractions about the churches of Salem and Saugus, and the removal of other churches, and the scarcity of corn, occasioned a general fast to be proclaimed' on February 25, 1636. In March, 'some occasions of difference having fallen out between the church of Charlestown and their pastor, Mr. James, they sent for the ministers of all the neighboring churches, who met there,' and 'finding the pastor very faulty, they advised that he should desire dismission; but if he persisted, the Church should cast him out.' At Dorchester 'Mr. Mather and others wished to begin a new church, a great part of the old one having gone to Connecticut.' But the magistrates thought them (Mr. Mather, the minister, and one other excepted) not meet to be the foundation of a church, giving pious reasons, as: 'They had not come to hate sin because it was filthy, but only left it because it was hurtful.' Mr. Hooker, with most of his church at Newtowne, founded Hartford in 1636; a fort at Saybrook, the mouth of the river, had been built the year before. The tempest in a teapot, of religious discussions in the little Colony of Massachusetts Bay, spouted over into Connecticut and Rhode Island and began history there.

The father of the new plantation did not look back, after putting his hand to the plough. Upon the query of his 'worthy and well-beloved' Governor Winthrop (in a letter received while the pioneer was 'abroad about the Pequot business'), 'What have you gained by your new-found practices?' he answered:

> 'I confess my gains cast up in man's exchange are loss of friends, esteem, maintenance, etc.; but what was gain in that respect I desire to count loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; to his all glorious name I know I have gained the honor of one of his poor witnesses, though in sackcloth.'

His losses in money were great and so recognized by some few.

> 'It pleased the Father of spirits to touch many hearts dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which, that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply.'

He had great difficulty in collecting his debts in the Bay and wrote frequently to Governor Winthrop for his assistance.

To his honored friend's second query, 'Is your spirit as even as it was seven years since?' he answered:

> 'Toward the Lord I hope I more long to know and do his holy pleasure only, and to be ready not only to be banished but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jesus. Toward yourselves, I have hitherto begged of the Lord an even spirit, and I hope ever shall, as first, reverently, to esteem of, and tenderly to respect the persons of many hundreds of you, secondly, to rejoice to spend and be spent in any service (according to my conscience) for your welfares.'

Can history show a better instance of a man's practicing what he preached: 'Love your enemies. Bless them that persecute you. Do good to them that hate you. And pray for them that despitefully use you'?

Soon Roger Williams was writing to his friend John Winthrop for advice in administering the civil affairs of the new plantation. It was during the first year of the settlement, for the letter was addressed to Winthrop as Deputy Governor, which he ceased to be in May, 1637.

> 'The condition of myself and those few families here planting with me you know full well; we have no patent; nor does the face of magistracy suit with our present condition. Hitherto the masters of families have ordinarily met once a fortnight and consulted about our common peace, watch, and planting; and mutual consent have finished all matters with speed and peace.
>
> 'Now of late some young men, single persons, (of whom we had much need) being admitted to freedom of inhabitation, and promising to be subject to the orders made by the consent of the householders, are discontented with their estate and seek the freedom of vote also, and equality, etc.
>
> 'Beside, our dangers (in the midst of these dens of lions) now especially, call upon us to be compact in a civil way and power.

'I have therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbors a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly crave your help.

'The first concerning ourselves, the masters of families, thus:

'We whose names are hereunder written, late inhabitants of the Massachusetts, (upon occasion of some difference of conscience) being permitted to depart from the limits of that patent, under the which we came over into these parts, and being cast by the providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countrymen amongst the barbarians in this town of New Providence, do with free and joint consent promise each unto other, that for our common peace and welfare (until we hear further of the king's royal pleasure concerning ourselves) we will from time to time subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present householders, and such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same privilege and covenant in our ordinary meeting. In witness whereof we hereunto subscribe, etc.

'Concerning those few young men and any who shall hereafter (by your favorable connivance) desire to plant with us, this:

'We whose names are hereunder written, being desirous to inhabit in this town of New Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements as shall be made from time to time, by the greater number of the present householders of this town, and such whom they shall admit into the same fellowship and privilege. In witness whereof, etc.

'Hitherto we choose one (named the officer) to call the meeting at the appointed time; now it is desired by some of us that the householders by course perform that work, as also gather votes and see the watch go on, etc.

'I have not mentioned these things to my neighbors, but shall as I see cause, upon your loving counsel.'

These agreements,[1] in substantially this form, with the added significant words, ‘only in civil things,’ were made by the people of Providence, and signed by the twelve original settlers with Williams. The underlying spirit of the statesmanship of Roger Williams thus early showed itself — the spirit of toleration and brotherly love, expressed simply but with the worldly wisdom gained from long and intimate association with the great lawyer and judge, Sir Edward Coke.

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[1] The final form of the agreement, as it was later adopted, was: ‘We, whose names are here under-written, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together in a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, only in civil things.’

THE PRESBYTERIAN HOME FOR AGED WOMEN
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

## CHAPTER X

# THE PEQUOT WAR

CIVIL matters stood in abeyance in Roger Williams's new colony for a time; for, in the first year after his banishment,

> 'the Lord drew the bow of the Pequot war against the country.'

The great and warlike tribe of Pequots lived in southern Connecticut and had not come into the same close contact with the English as the nearer tribes, the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts. They had kept the original hostile attitude of Indians toward the usurpers of their territory. And they were the natural enemies of their next-door neighbors, the Narragansetts. They had escaped the plague that not many years before had greatly depleted other New England tribes, and they could still raise a great force of fighting men — four thousand, it has been estimated — as could the Narragansetts, also. They resented the coming of the English into their territory: Massachusetts Bay Colony had built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River the year before Roger was banished, and Mr. Hooker had moved his plantation from Newtowne (Cambridge) to Hartford in 1636. Pequot depredations upon the scattered settlers had come to such a pass that Massachusetts Bay Colony determined that punishment of the Pequots was a necessity.

Roger Williams's plantation was on the Indian frontier. And to some extent he could speak the Indian language. In one of his first letters to his friend, Governor John Winthrop, he wrote:

> 'The Pequots hear of your preparations and comfort themselves in this, that a witch amongst them will sink the pinnaces by diving under water and making holes, etc., as also that they shall now enrich themselves with store of guns.'

The young pioneer, forbidden to step foot within the Bay, was in a position to be of immeasurable service to his persecutors. He harbored no resentment against them; they were still his 'loving friends.' With his usual ardor and generous impetuosity he threw himself into the difficult duties of interpreter and mediator between English and Indians.

Captains Stone and Norton, with eight other traders, had been murdered in 1634 and complete satisfaction never given to the English by the Indians. But the immediate occasion of the war was the later murder of John Oldham, 'an old planter, and a member of Watertown congregation, who had been long out a-trading, having with him only two English boys, and two Indians of Narragansett.' It happened off Block Island, opposite the Narragansett shore. Roger Williams was the first to hear of it and sent the two Indians, and one other, from Canonicus,

> 'certifying what had befallen Mr. Oldham and how grievously they (the Narragansetts) were afflicted, and that Miantonomo was gone with seventeen canoes and two hundred men to take revenge.'

For the Indians of Block Island, who committed the murder, were Narragansetts, though acting without the knowledge of Canonicus and Miantonomo, in vengeance upon Mr. Oldham for trading with their enemies, the Pequots. Mr. Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonomo's men, with a letter of further explanation from Mr. Williams, who acted as friendly go-between in the affair.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts at once sent an expedition of ninety men, with four commanders, and over them John Endicott as general, to punish the Indians. They carried a commission to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and to bring them away, and to take possession of the island. They were to go from thence to the Pequots to demand the murderers of Captain Stone and the other English in 1634, and one thousand fathoms of wampum for damages, and some of their children as hostages. If the Indians refused, they were to be overcome by force. On August 24, the expedition set sail, in three pinnaces, carrying two shallops and two Indians with them.

They arrived at Block Island the last of the month, and found forty Indians with arrows on the shore to meet them. The Englishmen wore corselets, so the arrows did not harm them; and the Indians fled as soon as the landing was made. Two plantations were found, three miles apart, with about sixty wigwams; also over two hundred acres of corn, some standing and some gathered in heaps. Search of the island for the Indians was made for two days; but they could not be found. The invaders contented themselves by burning all the wigwams and mats and some corn, and by staving seven canoes.

Then they went to the mouth of the Connecticut, and to the Pequot harbor. After some dallying with messengers, they marched upon the Indian town and burned all the wigwams and mats there, and spoiled all the canoes. But they found no Pequot murderers, nor hostages, nor wampum, to take away with them. By way of Narragansett, they all returned safe to Boston on the 14th of September. 'The soldiers who went were all voluntaries, and had only their victuals provided, but demanded no pay. The whole charge of the voyage came to about two hundred pounds. The seamen all had wages.' Afterward the Narragansetts reported that thirteen of the Pequots were killed and forty wounded; and but one man of Block Island killed.

The Endicott expedition was not expensive — in money. But neither was it successful in accomplishing its purpose of killing Pequots and taking captives. The Indians knew how to hide and to fight in ambush. The English had yet to learn that the only way to take Indians was by a surprise attack.

Almost immediately Canonicus sent word to Boston that some English had been killed by Pequots at Saybrook; and

Roger Williams forwarded the important information that the Pequots were making every effort to secure the Narragansetts as allies, and

> 'had labored to persuade them that the English were minded to destroy all Indians.'

Whereupon Miantonomo was sent for to go to Boston, and the Governor and Council at Boston by letter requested Roger Williams

> 'to use his utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequots against the Mohegans, and Pequots against the English.'

Many years later he wrote to Major Mason (the Captain Mason of the Pequot War):

> 'The Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also.... God wonderfully preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequots' negotiations and design, and to promote and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots.'

On the 21st of October, Miantonomo went to Boston, with two of Canonicus's sons and another sachem and nearly twenty sannops (braves). The Governor sent twenty musketeers to meet him at Roxbury, as an honor appropriate to so distinguished a prince; and called together most of the magistrates and ministers to advise about the terms of the league which Miantonomo proposed between the English and the Narragansetts against the Pequots. The next morning peace was concluded, and nine articles subscribed by the Governor and the Indians, including Cutshamakin, sachem of Massachusetts. Because the Indians could not be made to understand the articles of the treaty, it was agreed that a copy be sent to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret it to them. Again was Massachusetts indebted to the man banished from its limits to the haunts of the barbarians, and for the time being Indian war was averted.

Ever after Endicott's expedition, the Pequots were active in their hostility, scarcely a week passing without some skirmish. They had reluctantly given up hope of enlisting the Narragansetts on their side, a plan which had been definitely broken by Roger Williams. He was kept informed of everything that transpired by his friends among the Narragansetts; and he promptly and faithfully passed on the information to his 'much honoured loving friend,' John Winthrop at Boston, together with advice based on his knowledge of Indian strategy, and frequent contemporary reports of the situation and movements of the Pequots. One letter enclosed a map of the Pequot location and gave points gained from conference with Miantonomo — to attack by night, to make surprise returns, and to cut off retreat to the swamp. The letter suggested that if anything be sent to the princes, Canonicus would gladly accept a box of eight or ten pounds of sugar.

Finally an attack on the English fort at Saybrook resulted in joint action of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut against their common enemy. The campaign was short, sharp, and decisive. General Stoughton, with one hundred and sixty men of Massachusetts, and Mr. Wilson as chaplain, marched to Providence, on their way to Connecticut. Roger Williams

> 'gladly entertained at his house General Stoughton and his officers, and used his utmost care that all the officers and soldiers should be well accommodated [with the

> people of Providence. He accompanied them to Narragansett and brought his] countrymen and the barbarians, sachems and captains, to a mutual confidence and complacence, each in other.'

Meanwhile, Captain Mason, of Connecticut, with about eighty men of Connecticut and Massachusetts (and several hundred Indians, mostly Narragansetts, who were not used in the fight, however, but served mostly by intercepting fugitives), attacked the Pequot fort near the Mystic River in New London County. The five or six hundred men, women, and children gathered within the palisades, that had been hastily constructed, had only bows and arrows and tomahawks for their defense, and were powerless against the guns of their assailants. It was a terrible tragedy for the Indians. They were all killed, and the fortifications burned, with the loss of only two Englishmen.

Soon afterward Captain Stoughton made a surprise night attack upon the rest of the tribe at a place

> 'within twenty or thirty miles of the Dutch, hard by a most hideous swamp, so thick with bushes and so quagmiry as men could hardly crowd into it, where all of the Indians were killed or taken captive. Between eight and nine hundred Pequots were slain. Sassacus, their sachem, who fled to the Mohawks, was murdered.'

And there was an end of the Pequots, as a tribe. The Pequot country and Block Island now belonged to Massachusetts. But Pequot fugitives long continued to be a menace.

It was the latter part of August before Stoughton was summoned back to Boston. One of his men was left sick at Roger Williams's house and nursed back to health by Mrs. Williams. She was a true helpmate. Although sufficiently occupied with the care of two babies, and a dear but exigent husband, she kept open house all the spring and summer for unexpected (or unheralded) guests, English and Indians, engaged in the Pequot negotiations. Wequash, the Pequot guide of the English during the war, was there five or six days in May, with Canonicus's son and Miantonomo's brother, Yotaash, for a conference about Pequot captives and 'other brablings' which Mr. Williams thought not fit to trouble his friend Winthrop about 'without commission.'

In August, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone and Mr. Wilson, a holy trio, on their way to the synod, went from Connecticut to Boston by way of Providence (instead of the usual way). Mr. Wilson had been a guest at the Williamses' house on his way south with Captain Stoughton in May. Mary Williams must have acquired some of the character of her saintly spouse if she enjoyed dispensing a gracious hospitality to these his erstwhile persecutors!

Indian messengers on their way from the sachems to Massachusetts with Pequot prisoners or with hands and scalps of slain Pequots, stopped to get Mr. Williams's letters of explanation to go with them. He did not approve the cutting off of the hands of the slain. Not that it was a new idea to him. He could remember as a boy seeing the heads and quarters of state criminals posted on London Bridge and other public places. He wrote to Governor Winthrop:

> 'I was fearful that those dead hands were no pleasing sight.... I have always shown dislike to such dismembering the dead.'

In August the Indians were still sending many Pequots' heads and hands from Long Island and other places. August 31, 'the Narragansetts sent the hands of three Pequots, one the chief of those who murdered Captain Stone.'

Roger Williams had been ready to march to the front with Captain Stoughton; but it was agreed that he should keep at Providence as an agent between the Bay and the army, interpreter and intelligencer, exchanging letters with the Governor and Council at Boston. He might have written, as he did a year later:

> 'I sometimes fear that my lines are as thick and over busy as the mosquitoes.'

A voluminous correspondence was necessary in the complicated details of settlement after the war — as to the division and disposal of the captives and the return of those who ran away, the punishment of offenders among them, and the subsequent guarding against the reuniting of the scattered Pequots into a force of possible danger.

Not only letters, but many 'travels and charges,' were a part of this work of negotiation. In June he notified Governor Winthrop:

> 'This morning I go over (if the Lord please) to consult with them, hoping to be at home, if possible, tomorrow evening, and so to despatch some messenger the second in the morning.'

By his constant kindnesses to the natives and his genuine interest in them and desire to do them good, he had gained their confidence and esteem and unfailing goodwill. Yet he knew there was

> 'no fear of God before their eyes, and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were self and covetousness.'

He was careful to attend punctiliously to their pay and recompense, and well understood the diplomatic value of presents to them. English clothes were most in demand among them.

> 'I pray, sir, forget not to reward this messenger with a coat, as also some powder for Miantonomo.' 'It would be very convenient that Miantonomo's and Wequash's coat be sent [by the messenger]. For any gratuities or tokens, Canonicus desires sugar, Miantonomo powder.'

Coats that were given to four of the chiefs of the twenty-six men that Miantonomo sent to Boston in March, with forty fathoms of wampum and a Pequot's hand, were 'of nineteen shillings' price.'

Roger Williams dealt with the Indians 'wisely, as with wolves endowed with men's brains,' but always kindly, even when he knew their failings and misdemeanors. He had no illusions about their character.

> 'I commonly guess shrewdly at what a native utters. 'Tis true I may hire an Indian, yet not always, nor sure, for these two things I have found in them; sometimes long keeping of a letter; secondly, if a fear take them that the letter concern themselves they suppress it, as they did one of special information which I sent to Mr. Vane.'

The Pequot women and children were taken as prisoners as far as possible and not killed. Roger Williams told John Winthrop

> 'I much rejoice that some of the chiefs at Connecticut (Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlow) are adverse from killing women and children. Mercy outshines all the works and attributes of him who is the Father of Mercies.'

The Indian captives among the English were servants.

> 'This native (the bearer) Will, my servant, shall attend your worship for answer.'

The friend of the Indians did not approve of making Indian prisoners slaves for life; and advised and exhorted that captives should be treated kindly.

> 'My humble desire is that all who have those poor wretches might be exhorted to walk wisely and justly towards them, so as to make mercy eminent; for in that attribute the Father of Mercy most shines to Adam's miserable offspring.'

## CHAPTER XI

## PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF BANISHMENT

GOVERNOR WINTHROP knew and appreciated the unique and valuable services Roger Williams had rendered to the Colony at Massachusetts Bay in the Pequot War. He also realized the practical financial difficulties of banishment from the chief port and center of trade. As soon as the war was over, he 'made a motion in the Council that Mr. Williams be not only recalled from banishment, but also be honored with some remark of favor.' The question was debated, but the motion could not be carried. 'It was known who hindered,' Williams wrote afterward, 'who never promoted the liberty of other men's consciences.' The reference is probably to Thomas Dudley, who was Governor at the time. He was harsh toward such as did not conform. When he died in 1652, he had in his pocket the manuscript of an epitaph he had written for himself:

'Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a Toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
To poison all with heresy and vice.'

The Court of Boston was not sorry to have banished Roger Williams. It was not ready to recall his banishment. On the contrary, that same month of July, the sentence was extended to include all the inhabitants of Providence. John Greene, surgeon, one of the first Providence planters, went back to his old home in Salem on business about the sale of his house. Coming away, he met an old acquaintance, Ed Batter, who had come from the same place in England as himself, and on the same vessel, who asked Greene whether he would come again to Salem to live. Greene answered, how could he, unless he might enjoy the freedom of his soul and conscience. Batter said he might do so. Whereat Greene replied that he knew that could not be, for the power of the Lord Jesus was in the hand of civil authority.

Mr. Endicott, one of the standing council, happened to be passing just then. He called Batter and questioned him about their conference. When he had been told, he warned Mr. Greene to appear at the General Court. The Court fined Greene twenty pounds,

> 'for saying that the magistrates had usurped upon the Power of Christ in his church and had persecuted Mr. Williams and another whom they had banished for disturbing the peace by divulging their opinions against the authority of the magistrates.'

The fine was remitted, however, upon his submission.

Mr. Williams did not approve of Greene's criticism of the magistrates of Boston. His

> 'endeavor always was to pacify and allay rigid and censorious spirits [who blamed and judged the members of the Boston Court]. It was one of the first grounds of my dislike of John Smith, the miller, and especially of his wife (who were banished from Dorchester), viz, the judging of your persons as devils' [he wrote afterward in comment to Winthrop].

When he was back in Providence, Greene wrote to the Court, retracting his submission.

> 'Now because the court knew that divers others of Providence were of the same ill affection to the court, and were probably suspected to be confederate in the same letter, the court ordered that if any of that plantation were found within our jurisdiction, he should be brought before one of the magistrates and if he would not disclaim the charge in the said letter, he should be sent home, and charged to come no more into this jurisdiction upon pain of imprisonment and further censure.'

More than two hundred years after the death of Roger Williams, ineffectual efforts were made to have the decree of banishment revoked.[1] But the timely opportunity for his judges to show their gratitude for his help, and appreciation of his character, if not of his opinions, was forever lost.

All through the time of the Pequot troubles he was embarrassed by financial difficulties and the inability to go into the Massachusetts Bay Colony to attend to them. He had mortgaged his house in Salem, 'worth some hundreds, for supplies to go through.' It was very inconvenient for him to settle his business affairs at arm's length and never to be able to treat in person, but always through agents. The agents of the Bay proved unsatisfactory and one after another failed him. John Throckmorton, his friend and neighbor, who came with him on the Lyon, and was with him in Salem and excommunicated with him there, acted as his proxy, and 'often demanded, but in vain, of those two unfaithful ones, James and Thomas Hawkins, of Boston; Mr. Coggeshall long had their bills.'

Another unjust debtor was Mr. George Ludlow, 'from whom he much suffered.' He was finally fain to appeal to the Governor himself in these aggravating businesses, thus:

> 'Having used many means and many attornies (in my absence) to recover a debt of George Ludlow, and failed by all... let me humbly beg what help in a righteous way may be afforded... to cause him to deal honestly with me who have many years and in many wants been patient with him. The debt was for mine own and my wife's better apparel, put off to him at Plymouth. My bills are lost, but his own hand which the bearer will deliver is testimony sufficient.' [The itemized bill, acknowledged by Mr. Ludlow, was for:]
>
> '1st, an heifer, which was mine 4 yrs since; the increase of her is mine.
> '2ndly, upwards of 4 score weight of tobacco
> '3rdly, consideration above 8li for 3 goats due to me when they were almost 2 yr. since, about 4 li a goat.

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[1] In 1906, by Reverend T. M. Merriman. In 1929 (January 12), by Lewis S. Gray, Representative from Seekonk.

> '4thly, an house watch
> '5thly, Another new gown of my wife's new come forth of England and cost between 40 and 50 shillings.'

Mrs. Williams's gown, which was 'another new gown,' was a somewhat expensive one. Interesting as a comment is the entry in Governor Winthrop's journal in August of 1638:

> 'The Court, taking into consideration the great disorder general through the country in costliness of apparel and following new fashions, sent for the elders of the churches and conferred with them about it and laid it upon them as belonging to them to redress it by urging it upon the consciences of their people, which they promised to do. But little was done about it; for divers of the elders' wives, etc. were in some measure partners in this general disorder.'

Mrs. Williams, accustomed to a life of comfort and luxury, should be given her great share of credit in adapting herself to the new conditions.

The Governor's 'loving remembrance' of him was successful in all except the tobacco, which Mr. Williams directed

> 'to be paid to Mr. Cradock's agent, if he would accept it, in part of some payments for which I have made over my house to Mr. Mayhew.'

The following January the tobacco, and the eight or ten pounds in the hands of James and Thomas Hawkins, were still unaccounted for. The next June he wrote:

> 'I owe between fifty and sixty pounds to Mr. Cradock, (Governor of Massachusetts Colony) for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will testify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment [from] what (and when) my house at Salem yielded.'

But Mr. Mayhew was an unscrupulous agent, who caused Mr. Cradock to complain bitterly to Governor Winthrop, in a letter of January 13, 1636, of 'The grief I have been put to by the most vile bad dealing of Thomas Mayhew,' which disquieted his mind as 'never anything did in like manner.' Roger Williams's affairs were unfortunately placed in such hands. The final letters about the tobacco were those of December 30, 1638, and of January, 1639, when Mr. Williams asked Governor Winthrop to send a line or two to certify that Ludlow promised the eight hundred pounds of tobacco (although Mr. Williams's due was much more) which he never paid and which Mr. Williams hoped to have sent 'in a pinnace about to put into Newport, bound for Virginia.'

He was not a financial genius. His gifts did not lie that way. Aboundingly generous of himself, his time, his labor, and not less of his possessions, he was often in straits for money; and he always had difficulty in collecting what was owed him. His failure to keep his bills and accounts made matters worse:

> 'my writings are (from hand to hand about the business) lost, so that all my evidence will be from your hand, of his acknowledgement and promise. [He wrote to Major Mason]: God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay the very temporary losses I have suffered... in being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England.'

Mr. Williams was able to reciprocate Governor Winthrop's kindness in collecting bad debts. He wrote in November:

> 'Sir, I have often called upon your debtor, Joshua [Verin, who came to Providence with Williams and was his next door neighbor], but his ill advisedness of refusing my service and spending his time upon a house and ground hath disabled him. Upon this occasion of your loving proffer of the half of the debt (of eight pounds) to myself, I shall be urgent with him to seek some course of payment of the whole to yourself, from whom in recompense of any pains, I desire no other satisfaction but your wonted and loving acceptation.'

The autumn after the close of the Pequot War, Roger Williams and Governor Winthrop together bought an island, Chibachuwese, 'spectacle-wise and between a mile or two in circuit' (later named Prudence), from Canonicus and Miantonomo. The Indian sachems wanted Mr. Williams to have it and live on it, to be nearer to them. He had a mind not to remove to it, but 'to build a little house and put in some swine, as understanding the place to have store of fish and good feeding for swine.' Having heard that Mr. Winthrop had plans for putting swine on some of the islands,

> 'he more desired to obtain Canonicus's island, because he might thereby not only benefit himself but also pleasure Mr. Winthrop, whom he more desired to pleasure and honor.'

November 10 he wrote:

> 'I have bought and paid for the island.... The ten fathom of beads and one coat you may please at leisure to deliver to Mr. Throckmorton, who will also be serviceable in the conveyance of swine this way.'

It was not a regular sale of the island, for the Indians wished to give it to their friend and benefactor. The recompense he made them was in the form of gifts, as he explained to Mr. Winthrop afterward.

Labors for the English of the Bay in their Indian wars, distractions about bad debts, and difficulties of becoming established in a new place and getting a livelihood in the wilderness did not hinder the prophet of the Lord from his major business of prophesying, though without pay. In the very midst of the Pequot negotiations he found time to write out treatises in defense of the 'strange opinions' that had banished him from Boston, having been solicited to do so by his successor at Salem, Hugh Peters, and by Mr. Buckley, the minister at Concord. He advised his friend, Governor Winthrop, of the fact that

> 'from the thirty-eighth page I have enlarged the differences between Israel and all other states.'

(Boston was a theocracy, modeled after the ancient Jewish state.) Greatly as he admired and loved his honored friend, John Winthrop, he was constrained to admonish even him, as magistrate of the Massachusetts Bay Colony:

> 'I know and am persuaded that your misguidings are great and lamentable, and the further you pass in your way, the further you wander and have the further to come back, and the end of one vexation will be but the beginning of another, till conscience be permitted (though erroneous) to be free amongst you.'

Nor did he forget his work as missionary to the Indians in his diplomatic, war-time dealings with them. His visits, when he lodged with them for days at a time, gave opportunity for plenty of teaching. Governor Winthrop heard from him:

> 'I hope shortly to send you good news of great hopes the Lord hath sprung up in mine eye of many a poor Indian soul inquiring after God. I have convinced hundreds at home and abroad that in point of religion they are all wandering. I find what I could never hear before, that they have plenty of Gods or divine powers; the sun, moon, fire, water, snow, earth, the deer, the bear, etc. are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Narragansetts the names of thirty-eight of their gods, all they could remember....I hope the time is not long that some shall truly bless the God of heaven that ever they saw the face of English men.'

Neither did he neglect his immediate duties as preacher of the Providence Plantation. In his own house his prophesying was as frequent and as eloquent as formerly in Salem — and as productive of disrupting results. Joshua Verin 'refused to hear the word for a twelvemonth,' for which he was unmolested in that retreat of freedom of conscience (liberty in religious belief and concerns). But he beat his wife 'with furious blows till she went in danger of her life,' because she would not conform to the same ungodliness. Therefore, a majority vote of the citizens decided to 'discard him from their civil freedom, or disfranchise.' He determined to have justice at other courts and haled his wife to Salem, where Williams feared 'she must needs be troubled and troublesome, as differences yet stand,' and humbly requested that Verin be in no way countenanced.

In his journal, Governor Winthrop related the incident, with details that throw light on the little group in the new plantation, and with an interesting preface:

'In Providence also the devil was not idle. For whereas, at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience, now men's wives, and children, and servants claimed liberty hereby to go to all religious meetings, though never so often or though private, upon the week days. And because one Verin refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams as oft as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company, and withstood it, telling them that, when he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands. One Greene replied that if they should restrain their wives, all the women in the country would cry out of [against] them. Arnold answered him thus: "Did you pretend to leave Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God to please women?" Some [of the meeting were] of the opinion that if Verin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose of her to some other man who would use her better.'

Arnold told them that it was not the woman's desire to go so oft from home, but only 'Mr. Williams's and others.' She, 'a gracious and modest woman,' was willing to stay with her husband, 'of a foul and slanderous and brutish carriage' in the matter, or 'go with him elsewhere, where she might not offend,' Mr. Williams testified to Governor Winthrop. Back to Salem they went, never to return to Providence to live.

## CHAPTER XII

# FURTHER SETTLEMENT IN THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY

THE next year after the Pequot War, Roger Williams was called upon to help in a new plantation among the Narragansetts. Another group of people, banished from Massachusetts for their religious opinions and teachings, sought a home where they could have freedom of religious belief. The brilliant Mrs. Hutchinson, of Boston, was the moving spirit — a talented woman of a bold and courageous temperament, who took to 'prophesying.' It was her custom to meet regularly with a group of women and expound to them Mr. Cotton's sermon of the preceding Sunday, adding her own comments and explanations; to the great edification of her little congregation, which soon began to be a big congregation, and finally reached the number of sixty or eighty. By this time the ministers and magistrates were thoroughly alarmed, and had private conference about her and her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, a silenced minister lately come among them. The two held dangerous doctrines, which they were spreading and thereby gaining many followers, Mr. Cotton, even, agreeing with them up to a certain point. There was much discussion and argument in the churches on these now scarcely understandable, abstruse, unessential, unimportant, vague, and difficult doctrines. In the spring of 1637, when the Pequot War was threatening, Mr. Wheelwright was questioned by the General Court. It was the beginning of the controversy over him and his sister which ended in their banishment from Massachusetts by the synod at the end of the war, and their coming to Rhode Island in 1638.

Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright were of a sect of the Antinomians called 'Familists,' whose emphasis was on faith rather than works. He was an able man and a distinguished preacher. Some of his adherents at Boston, among whom was the young Governor, Sir Harry Vane (son of Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the household of Charles I), wanted him to be teacher there; but the church being already well furnished with able ministers, and some dissenting from Mr. Wheelwright's opinions, he was called to a new church at Mount Wollaston, now Braintree.

Mr. Cotton was in substantial accord with Mr. Wheelwright; so much so that, at a ministers' meeting, there was drawn up a list of the points, wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton differed from them, which was presented to him, for a direct answer, yea or nay, to every one. Argument led to bitterness between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton, and a heated controversy.

Governor Vane, when called back to England by business necessities, confessed that his departure was decided upon because of 'the inevitable danger he saw of God's judgments to come upon them for these differences and dissensions and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself as if he should be the cause of all.'

In February

'a general fast was kept in all the churches. The occasion was not only these constant and bitter dissensions of doctrine that had been keeping them in a turmoil for many months; but also the miserable state of the churches in Germany; the calamities in England, — the continuing persecution by the bishops and the raging of the plague; and the dangers of the new settlers at Connecticut, and of themselves, by the Indians.'

Mr. Wheelwright at this fast took occasion to inveigh 'against all that walked in a covenant of works... such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification' and called them antichrists. For this, at the next Court, Governor Vane and others dissenting, he was judged guilty of sedition and also of contempt, 'for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them.'

The Pequot War interrupted, but only a little retarded, the stormy progress of religious contention. At the Court at Newtowne for elections, May 17, 1637, Governor Vane would have read a petition from Boston to revoke the sentence against Mr. Wheelwright, which would have resulted in an all-day debate had not the people demanded election. 'There was great danger of a tumult that day; the opposition grew into fierce speeches and some laid hands on others; but in the end, Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Dummer, being all of that faction, were quite left out' of office.

The disputants, represented by Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Cotton, now resorted to various writings, 'apologies,' 'tractates.' Mr. Wheelwright was summoned to appear at the Court in August, before which time there was to be a conference of all the churches about the differences. These same 'differences grew so much as tended fast to a separation'; so that in July, Mr. Vane, being among others invited by the Governor to accompany the Lord Ley (then on a visit to the Colony) to dinner, not only refused to come (alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him), but also at the same hour went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick and carried the Lord Ley with him.

On August 30, four days after the return of General Stoughton and his soldiers from the Pequot country had marked the end of the war, the church synod began at Newtowne (Cambridge) and lasted for three weeks. After the opening prayer by Mr. Shepherd, the pastor of Newtowne, the 'erroneous opinions' — eighty-two of them! — which were spread in the country, were read. These eighty-two opinions, 'some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe, were condemned by the whole assembly; whereto near all the elders, and others sent by the churches, subscribed their names.' After the condemning of the errors (more recently characterized by Savage as 'incomprehensible jargon') five points in question between Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Cotton (points so delicate that a modern reader has utmost difficulty in perceiving them at all) were debated in writing, and afterward in open dispute, 'by which they came to understand each other better'!

On the last day of the assembly other questions were debated and resolved, one of which was the public condemnation of Mr. Wheelwright's brilliant sister, Mrs. Hutchinson. It was agreed:

'That though women might meet (some few together), to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly, as was then in practice in Boston, where sixty or more did meet every week and one woman (in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine and expounding Scriptures) took upon herself the whole exercise, was disorderly and without rule.'

It was hoped that the general church assembly would have good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; 'but it fell out otherwise.' 'Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party, though clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet persisted in their opinions and were as busy in nourishing contentions as before.' Wherefore the Court, assembled in November, disfranchised and banished Mr. Wheelwright, who must depart within fourteen days. 'He gathered a company, and sat down by the falls of Pascataquack [Piscataqua] and called their town Exeter.'

Mrs. Hutchinson, too, was banished; but since it was winter, she was for the time committed to a private house at Roxbury, where her own friends and the elders were permitted to go to her, but none else. Here the elders found that she persisted in maintaining her gross errors beforementioned, and many others to the number of thirty or thereabout, which she was called upon 'to make proof of' before the church at Boston. One of these errors was that there is no 'resurrection of these bodies,' a doctrine that Roger Williams was at the same time trying to preach to the Indians — at which 'they cried out: No! No! they would never believe it.'

Finally she was excommunicated. After much time and many arguments had been spent to bring her to see her sin, but all in vain, the church with one consent, cast her out. The Governor set out a warrant for her to depart before the end of the month. On March 28, she went by water to her farm at the Mount, whence she expected to sail, with Mr. Wheelwright's wife and family, to join him at Pascataquack. But she changed her mind and went by land to Providence and then to the island in the bay which her husband and the rest of the sect purchased from the Indians.

It was Roger Williams's helping hand that settled the exiles in Narragansett, at Aquidneck. They were considering Long Island. He convinced them of the advantages of the nearer location and personally contrived the sale of the lands to them by the Narragansett sachems — lands they could not have acquired except through his intimate friendship with the Indians. He wrote to Winthrop of having much discourse with Mrs. Hutchinson and others of the party, whose errors were plain to him. He found their longings great after Mr. Vane, Mrs. Hutchinson professing that 'if he come not to New, she must to Old England.' Roger prayed:

> 'The Lord mercifully redeem them and all of us from all our delusions.'

But he was glad to have them for neighbors. He had previously had some correspondence with his friend and adviser, wishing

> 'that these ways might be more trod into these inland parts, and that amongst the multitudes of the barbarous, the neighborhood of some English plantation (especially of men desiring to fear God) might help and strengthen.'

Late in the autumn of 1637, Benjamin Hubbard and others of Charlestown had desired 'his help and furtherance' in their plan 'to be his neighbors in some place near adjoining.' But nothing came of it.

In February of 1638, Mr. Coggeshall and Mr. Aspinwall, who were among the sixty Boston followers of Mrs. Hutchinson who had been disarmed by the General Court in fear lest the principles which they had learned of her might impel them to disturb the peace of the community, conferred with Roger Williams 'about some of these parts, and in case for shelter of their wives and children.' He suggested Sowams or Aquidneck. But as Sowams was claimed by Plymouth, they chose 'the great island of Aquidneck.' This Mr. Williams was able to purchase for them from the Indians. The deed, including also other islands in the bay, was given 'to Mr. Coddington, and his friends united unto him,' March 24, 1638. Forty fathoms of white beads was the price paid, to be equally divided between Canonicus and Miantonomo; with ten coats and twenty hoes to Miantonomo to be distributed to the native inhabitants. Roger Williams drew up the deed, and was one of the witnesses of it; and also of the memorandum of the agreement between Ousamequin and Mr. Coddington and the English friends united with him, 'for the use of any grass or trees on the Pawakasick side' and the payment of five fathoms of wampum to Ousamequin.[1]

An account of this transaction, written by Roger Williams to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay in 1658, explained:

> 'It was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode Island. Rhode Island was purchased by love; by the love and favor which that honorable gentleman, Sir Henry Vane and myself had with that great sachem, Miantonomo, about the league which I procured be-

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[1] A fathom of wampum, three hundred and sixty pieces of peage, was worth six shillings.

tween the Massachusetts English and the Narragansett Indians in the Pequot War. It is true I advised a gratuity to be presented to the sachem and the natives; and because Mr. Coddington and the rest of my loving countrymen were to inhabit the place and to be at the charge of the gratuities, I drew up a writing in Mr. Coddington's name, and in the names of such of my loving countrymen as came up with him, and put it into as sure a form as I could at that time (amongst the Indians) for the benefit and assurance of the present and future inhabitants of the island.'

[He had told Governor Winthrop the same thing soon after the sale:] 'Sir, concerning the islands Prudence and Aquidneck, be pleased to understand your great mistake; neither of them were sold properly, for a thousand fathom would not have bought either, by strangers. The truth is, not a penny was demanded for either, and what was paid was only gratuity, though I choose for better assurance and form to call it sale.'

Roger Williams continued to give help and counsel to the new plantation, his near neighbor. He also kept in close communication with the young settlements in Connecticut, as well as with his friend John Winthrop, of Massachusetts Bay, and with Plymouth. He was the clearing-house for news in the New England Colonies. His home was always neutral ground. The Narragansett Indians were his scouts and messengers. They came into frequent contact with their enemies, the Mohegans, who occupied the northern and western parts of Connecticut. Owocase (Uncas), their sachem, was once a Pequot. He had with him between two and three hundred Pequots, that, being scattered after the war, he had drawn to himself. Mr. Williams warned the people of Connecticut to beware of these Pequots, and of one William Baker, a fugitive from Plymouth, who was turned Indian and lived naked among them, a bad influence. It soon became evident to Roger Williams that a peace between the Narragansetts and Mohegans was desirable, in order to keep a passage open between Massachusetts and Connecticut. In January, 1638, he told Governor Winthrop so, and offered his services to procure a meeting between Uncas and the Narragansett sachems, at the mouth of Narragansett Bay. The magistrates of Connecticut wanted to have the meeting in their territory. Miantonomo was willing to go there, but 'not being so confident of the English at Connecticut,' insisted upon Roger Williams's company; which made Williams think his own house would be the most convenient place for the conference. The league was finally made at Hartford the next autumn, though Uncas had no mind for it and delayed it as long as possible.

In the summer, 'Uncas, the Mohegan sachem in the twist of Pequot River,' went to Boston with Mr. Haynes, of Connecticut, taking with him thirty-seven men, and bringing the governor a present of twenty fathoms of wampum. The Court thought it fit not to accept the present till he could explain satisfactorily what he would do about the Pequots he harbored. When he promised to submit to the order of the English concerning the Pequots and the Narragansetts, the present was accepted and he went away, likewise with presents, after some extraordinary protestations to the Governor. Laying his hand upon his breast, he said:

> 'This heart is not mine, but yours; I have no men, they are all yours; command me any difficult thing, I will do it; I will not believe any Indian's word against the English; if any man shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death, were he never so dear to me.'

The heart of Uncas was a false heart. On his way home he passed within a mile of Providence, but did not call on Roger Williams, 'though he should have been kindly welcome.' One of his company, however, having hurt his foot, turned in at Providence, and, lodging with Williams, told him of the Mohegan visit to the Bay, confirming the account already given by a Narragansett Indian, who, coming from the Bay with cloth, turned in to Williams's house for lodging, as the Indians were wont to do. Both these Indians told the same story — that among the Indians that Uncas had with him in Boston were six Pequots (although he denied that he had any), some of them actual murderers of the English. Other lies of Uncas Roger Williams had opportunity to refute, through Winthrop's confidence in his banished friend.

In August, Janemoh, of the Nianticks, allies of Miantonomo, made a raid upon some allies of Massachusetts Bay Colony in Long Island; and Roger Williams was asked by the Boston Colony to settle the matter with Miantonomo or else the Narragansetts might look for war. In August, also, the robbery and murder of a Narragansett Indian by four Englishmen, servants who had run away from Plymouth, created a great hubbub in the Narragansett country because of the idea that the murder was but the prelude of a general slaughter of the natives by the English. The Indian was returning to Canonicus's son with five fathoms of wampum and three coats which he had exchanged for three beaver skins and some beads.

Mr. Williams notified Governor Winthrop and later arranged for the apprehension of the murderers, who turned out to be men he had entertained unawares, supposedly travelers to Connecticut, and by whom he had sent letters. They were finally captured at Aquidneck. They were tried at Plymouth, confessing that they had murdered the man to get his wampum. They were condemned and three of them were executed in the presence of the Indians, who went with Roger Williams to the trial, in September. The fourth escaped to Pascataquack. 'The Governor sent after him, but those of Pascataquack conveyed him away and openly withstood his apprehension. It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance all such lewd persons who fled from us to them.' Pascataquack did not stand well with Boston.

In September, Mr. Williams made a double journey: to Plymouth to the trial of the four murderers of the Narra gansett Indian, and to Connecticut in the business of a league between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans. He went to Hartford with Miantonomo, who had a guard of upwards of one hundred and fifty men, and many sachems, and his wife and children, with him, lodging from his house three nights in the woods. On the way they received reports of robbery and violence committed on Narragansetts by Pequots and Mohegans, and that some of the enemy were 'lying in way and wait to stop Miantonomo's passage to Connecticut and divers of them threatened to boil him in a kettle.' Being fifty miles, or halfway, on their journey, Miantonomo, though so advised, refused to turn back. Their 'Indian march was with Roger Williams and his company, Mr. Scott a Suffolk man, and Mr. Cope, always first, then the sachems and Miantonomo and his wife in the path, and on either side of the path forty or fifty men to prevent sudden surprisals.' Roger Williams was a strong man, and a brave one; it may be that the excitement of these expeditions was not altogether unpleasant to him.

'Being arrived at Hartford, Uncas had sent messengers that he was lame and could not come. Mr. Haynes said it was a lame excuse, and sent earnestly for him.' At last he came, but when charged with the late outrages, so evaded and excused himself, that, without eye-witnesses, nothing could be proved against him. During the conference 'Thomas Stanton told Uncas and the magistrates that he [Uncas] dealt very falsely.' The two opposing sachems, Miantonomo and Uncas, were at last prevailed upon to shake hands. Miantonomo, 'his men having killed some venison, twice earnestly invited Uncas to sup and dine with him, him and all his company; but Uncas would not yield, though the magistrates also urged him to do it.' This covenant and agreement at Hartford, September 2, 1638, accomplished the league between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans that Roger Williams had suggested.

In his many letters to Governor Winthrop on public matters, Roger Williams also included private business. He sent kind messages from his wife and himself to the Governor's wife and other Boston friends, as:

> 'Sir, mine own and wife's respective salutes to your dear companion and all yours.'

By one of the Indian messengers bearing a letter of her husband to the Bay, Mrs. Williams

> 'sent, (together with her best respects) to Mrs. Winthrop, an handful of chestnuts, intending (if Mrs. Winthrop love them) a bigger basket of them at the return of Jigles.'

Mrs. Winthrop must have been loved for herself as well as in compliment to her well-beloved husband. When Mr. Williams sent, May 9, 1639, with the love and respect of Canonicus and Miantonomo and as a continuance of their love, a present of thirty fathoms of beads (ten from Canonicus and twenty from Miantonomo), the basket in which they were sent was 'a present,' Roger Williams wrote,

> 'from Miantonomo's wife to your dear companion, Mrs. Winthrop.'

In one of his letters, Mr. Williams asked a favor of Governor Winthrop, namely, to get him a man-servant, of which he had much need, to run down to Prudence Island, twenty miles down the bay, both with his own and Governor Winthrop's swine. He

> 'would spare no charge, either out of those beads and coat in your own hand, the tobacco from Mr. Ludlow, and the eight or ten pounds in James and Thomas Hawkins' hand, of which I hear not yet.'

The winter of 1637–38 was a very hard one.

'The snow lay from November 4th to March 23rd, half a yard deep about the Massachusetts, and a yard deep beyond Merrimac, and so the more north the deeper, and the spring was very backward. This day (April 23) it did snow two hours together (after much rain from the northeast) with flakes as great as shillings.'

At Providence, too, the snow was deep. Roger Williams had little opportunity to get letters to his friend John Winthrop, to whom he wrote on January 10:

> 'It having pleased the Most High to besiege us all with his white legions, I rejoice at this occasion from Connecticut (these letters sent to me by Mr. Hooker) that I may hear of your welfare and health.'

In the depth of the winter he sent his own sugar to Canonicus who was sick, and could not get it from the Bay as usual.

The severe winter was followed by a summer notable for natural disturbances, great tempests and tides. In the early summer of 1638, an earthquake alarmed and distressed both English and Indians, both of whom thought it a supernatural visitation of sinister omen. Williams spoke of it as

> 'the late dreadful voice and hand of the Most High; that audible and sensible voice, the earthquake. [He himself perceived nought] but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving... one sudden short motion.'

The younger Indians had never known the like, but the elder testified that it was the fifth within fourscore years, and that they always observed either plague or smallpox or some other epidemical disease followed three, four, or five years after the earthquake.

In Boston the disturbance was more severe.

'It came between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London. But it was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narragansett, at Pascataquack and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbor and all the islands.

The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after by times.

'Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the earthquake was at Aquiday and the house being shaken thereby, they were persuaded (and boasted of it) that the Holy Ghost did shake it in coming down upon them, as he did upon the apostles.'

Two months later,

'In the night was a very great tempest or hiracane at S.W., which drave a ship on ground at Charlestown and brake down the windmill there, and did much other harm. It flowed twice in six hours. And about Narragansett it raised the tide fourteen or fifteen feet above the ordinary spring tides upright.'

During the early part of 1638, some other plantations were begun in New England, besides the one at Aquidneck. One was at Sandwick on Cape Cod; and one at Tecticutt (Taunton), made by a gentlewoman, 'an ancient maid, one Mrs. Poole. She went late thither, and endured much hardship and lost much cattle,' commented John Winthrop in his journal. Mrs. Poole's spiritual guide in the new settlement was the Reverend William Hooke, until he removed to New Haven, which was founded by Mr. Davenport and others in 1638. This was the same William Hooke who married Jane Whalley, Roger Williams's first love, who had been the near neighbor of Roger and Mary in Essex in England. Taunton and Providence were not far apart; yet no records have appeared of the continuation of the old friendships. The Hookes stayed in New Haven, where he was teacher, till 1656, when they went back to England. Her aunt, Lady Barrington, may have known before she died that in spite of her efforts her niece had not drawn the first prize in the matrimonial market. To be sure, Hooke was at rather a disadvantage in New Haven in that the distinguished Mr. Davenport was pastor there. But it was plain to all who ran to read that

Williams, at Providence, was a bigger toad in a small puddle than was Hooke at New Haven. And such must have been a source of private satisfaction to Mary Barnard Williams.

In the summer of 1638, there was much moving about of old settlers and coming of new ones to New England. Winthrop noted the arrival of

> 'twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons, so as they were forced to look out new plantations. One was begun at Merrimac, and another four or five miles above Concord, and another at Winicowett.... Many of Boston and others, who were of Mrs. Hutchinson's judgment and party, removed to the isle of Aquiday; and others who were of the rigid separation and savoured Anabaptism, removed to Providence, so as those parts began to be well peopled.'

This wholesale emigration alarmed the mother country, and in May a law was passed forbidding it. Eight ships on the point of sailing were stopped. The tradition is that on one of them Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden were to have come to New England, but that the King and Archbishop Laud prevented them. So much the worse for the King and the Archbishop! And, perhaps, so far different the history of New England!

# CHAPTER XIII

# THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRACY

## THE DIVISION OF LANDS: THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH: THE FOUNDING OF WARWICK

NEGOTIATIONS with the people of the new Colony on the island of Rhode Island were many; but internal problems of the Providence Colony were more and of greater moment. Roger Williams's fitness as a leader and qualities of statesmanship were called into play in meeting the difficulties of the situation and in dealing with the vivid personalities of his associates and followers. The deed which he wrote for Aquidneck in March may have suggested to him or to the friends with him in Providence its counterpart which he drew for his own plantation in October. The land had been sold to him personally by the Indian sachems for a home for himself. At the time he had no thought of founding a settlement. The men who came with him were but three, and three boys — John Smith, the miller, banished from Dorchester, and his servant, Francis Wickes; Joshua Verin, a roper, and a lad of Richard Waterman's, both of Salem; and William Harris, an actor or comedian, 'an impudent Morris dancer' of Kent, whose 'scurrilous jests against the bishops had got him out of England, and got him in with' Williams, on the ship Lyon. But others soon followed, some almost immediately banished from the church in Salem, John Throckmorton, Stukely Westcott, and Thomas Olney. The little company had lived together in comparative peace and harmony — Joshua Verin's case of discipline being the only one recorded — for two years or more, under the simple agreements which Williams had made with Governor Winthrop's advice.

Roger's original plan of living among the Indians and ministering to them had enlarged itself without his volition, since

> 'divers of his distressed countrymen desired to take shelter with him.'

He saw a wider usefulness for his little settlement, and wished it might continue to be a refuge 'for persons distressed of conscience.' He therefore made 'a writing,' giving the lands he had purchased into equal rights with himself, to twelve men who had come to live with him, and to such others as they should admit to their fellowship, incorporating themselves into the town of Providence. And Providence was the name he gave to his first son, who was born in September, practically at the same time as the town.

The deed of 1638, preserved in the City Hall at Providence, is as follows:

'Providence, 8th of the 8th month (so called)

'Memorandum, that I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Canonicus and Miantonomo, this our situation or plantation of New Providence, viz, the two fresh rivers Wanasquatucket and Moshassuck, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do fully and freely pass, grant and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands unto my loving friends and neighbors, Stukely Westcott, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us; as also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pawtuxet, with the grass and meadows, thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me. Witness my hand,

'ROGER WILLIAMS

'Oct. 8, 1638. It is agreed, this day, aforesaid, that all the meadow grounds at Pawtuxet, bounding upon the fresh river, on both sides, are to be impropriated unto these thirteen persons, being now incorporated together in our town of Providence, viz; Ezekiel Holliman, Francis Weston, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, William Harris, John Throckmorton, Richard Waterman, John Greene, Thomas James, William Arnold, Stukely Westcott; and to be equally divided among them, and every one pay an equal proportion to raise up the sum of twenty pounds for the same; and if it shall come to pass that some or any one of these thirteen persons aforesaid, do not pay or give satisfaction of his or their equal proportion of the aforesaid sum of twenty pounds, by this day eight weeks, which will be the 17th day of the 10th month next ensuing then they or he shall leave their or his proportion of meadow grounds unto the rest of those thirteen persons, to be at their disposing, who shall make up the whole sum of twenty pounds, which is to be paid to Roger Williams.

'Dec. 3, 1638.

'According to former agreement, I received of the neighbors abovesaid, the full sum of £18. 11s. 3d. Per me,

'Roger Williams'

The whole-hearted generosity and divine singleness of purpose of Roger Williams, in his dealings with the English as well as with the Indians, is witnessed beyond question in these remarkable documents. His son Daniel, writing to the town of Providence in 1710, reminded them that his father

'gave away his lands and other estate to them that they thought were most in want, until he gave away all.... If a covetous man had that opportunity as he had, most of this town would have been his tenants, as I believe.'

The twelve proprietors, as they were afterward called — thirteen, they were, counting Roger Williams — had their home lots on either side of his, which was at the spring. John

Throckmorton was next him to the south, then William Harris; still farther to the south, were William Carpenter, Robert Cole, and Thomas Olney; then (after Thomas Angell) Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman; and last, Stukely Westcott, whose lot was almost opposite the present Market Square. On the other side of the Williams lot, beyond those of Joshua Verin, Widow Reeve (Verin's mother-in-law, banished from Salem), and John Smith, were the three lots of John Greene, Thomas James, and William Arnold, and at the northern end, that of Francis Wickes. Later comers settled mostly to the southward, on the same line, or Towne Street, following the shore. Chad Brown, the town surveyor, was just beyond Market Square, on the south side of College Hill; and Robert Williams, Roger Williams's brother, was at the extreme southern end, where Wickenden Street is now. The later northward boundary of the original home lots was that of Gregory Dexter, at the present junction of Olney and Benefit Streets. The Town Wharf was beside the Parade (Market Square); and the wading place (Steeple Street) was over a clam bank near Roger Williams's house.

These home lots of six acres were narrow on Towne Street but extending back up the hill to Hope Street, then Ferry Lane.[1] Ferry Lane, or the Highway, divided Providence Neck in halves. Three lanes connected it with Town Street: Power Lane, Gaol Lane (Meeting Street), and Olney Lane. The Upper Ferry (Red Bridge), established in 1678, was on the main road to Plymouth Colony. Each settler had another six-acre upland lot for planting, besides salt meadow land for grazing. The common lands were on Weybosset Point, across the salt river. Roger Williams had also two fields which he had especially purchased from the Indians, and which he had planted with his own hands at his first coming, called Whatcheer and Saxifrax Hill.

He thus described one of them, which he sold to James

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[1] It was named Hope Street by the Town Council in 1806.

Ellis on January 29, 1667, taking occasion to review again the circumstances of its purchase:

'Whereas, by the good Providence of God, I, Roger Williams, purchased this plantation of the natives, partly by the favors which I had long before with the sachems gotten at my cost and hazard, and partly with my own monies, paid them, in satisfaction for the settling of the said plantation, in the midst of the barbarians round about us; and whereas, for the name of God and public good, and especially for the receiving of such as were troubled elsewhere about the worship of God, I freely parted with my whole purchase unto the township or commonalty, of the then inhabitants, and yet reserved to myself the two Indian fields, called Whatcheer and Saxifrax Hill, as having peculiarly satisfied the owners of those fields for them, besides my general purchase of the whole from the sachems, and also planted both those fields at my first coming, as my own peculiar, with my own hands; and whereas the town of Providence by their deputies, then called five Disposers, (William Field was one), long since laid out unto me the aforesaid field called Whatcheer, and adjoined my six acre lot unto it, making up together twelve acres by the eighteen foot pole; and I having forgotten my bounds, the town deputies, William Field and Arthur Fenner, have since laid out and measured the said twelve acres unto me by the eighteen foot pole as aforesaid. These are to certify unto all men that I, the said Roger Williams, have, for a full satisfaction already received from James Ellis, of Providence, sold and devised unto the said James Ellis, the said twelve acres aforesaid, bounded on the east by the river, on the west by a highway between the said twelve acres and the land of Nicholas Power, deceased, on the north by a highway between the said twelve acres and William Field's land, and on the south by Benedict Arnold's land; the aforesaid twelve acres I do by these presents demise and alienate from myself, my heirs, executors, etc., to the aforesaid James Ellis, his heirs, executors, etc., with all the appurtenances and privileges thereof.

'Witness my hand and seal

'ROGER WILLIAMS (an arrow)

'In presence'

The simple form of government instituted by Roger Williams when he divided his purchase of Indian lands equally among his companions, with equal provision for those to come, continued to be successful and adequate in the growing little Colony. It was the purest form of democracy; really but a brotherly agreement giving an equal chance to every man. It was animated and fostered by the spirit of helpfulness and generosity constantly welling up in his heart and overflowing for the refreshment of those around him. But his wisdom rejected all thought of communism. And he doubtless knew of the sad failure of that experiment in other Colonies — not only at Plymouth, but in Virginia. Governor Bradford had written down the failure of their Christian communism at Plymouth, recording the permanence of human nature, in that a man tilled his own plot of ground more assiduously than he would work in common lands, nor did he like to have his wife labor with cooking and washing and household tasks for other men. At Jamestown the struggling Colony did not finally get upon its feet until the judicious administration of Governor Calvert apportioned a small farm to every settler. Roger Williams's true love of his fellows prompted him to give all he had, keeping nothing back. His great unselfishness left him unprovided for — except in his children — in his later years.

Among the newcomers to Providence were Ezekiel Holliman, of Salem, and Richard Scott, a shoemaker of Boston, whose wife was Mrs. Hutchinson's sister. These people were Baptists, or Anabaptists, as they were then called. Anabaptistry was the bugbear of the early settlers in Massachusetts. Mrs. Scott had persuasive powers similar to those of her talented and famous sister, and with notable results, according to Governor Winthrop. In deploring 'that things at Providence grew still worse' he reported that 'Mr. Williams was emboldened by Mrs. Scott, to make open profession of Anabaptistry and accordingly was rebaptized by one Holliman, a poor man, late of Salem,' who in turn was rebaptized by Mr. Williams, with ten others — William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Greene, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Thomas Olney.

But Roger Williams did not find the freedom and content in the new profession that he had looked to find, and did not continue as minister of the new church long. In a few months Governor Winthrop learned that he 'questioned' his second baptism (the new sect denied infant baptism), 'not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles otherwise than by the ministers of England, whom he judged to be ill authority'; that he expected himself to become an apostle; that 'having, a little while before refused communion with all save his own wife, now he would preach to and pray with all comers'; and that therefore some of his followers had left him.

He never afterward was a member or preacher of any church. To the end of his life he was seeking the truth. In 1676, in a letter to his opponent, George Fox, the apostle of the Quakers, he wrote:

> 'I profess that if my soul could find rest in joining any of the churches professing Christ Jesus now extant, I would readily and gladly do it, yea unto themselves whom I now opposed.'

He became a Seeker, with two or three others that had dissented, in the belief that their baptism could not be right because it was not administered by an apostle.[1] The Scotts later became Quakers, and Richard Scott's letter, printed in

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[1] Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, defines the Seekers as a sect 'keeping to that one principle "that everyone should have the liberty to worship God according to the light of his own conscience," but owning of no true churches or ordinances now in the world.'

George Fox's 'A New England Firebrand Quenched,' is authority for Mr. Williams's breaking from the Baptist Society and 'setting up a way of seeking, by way of preaching and praying.' Mr. Chad Brown, highly esteemed by Roger Williams, became the pastor of the church at Providence.

Some of the original group of Providence, the Harrises, the Arnolds, and the Coles, soon moved away from the region of the spring at the mouth of the Moshassuck to the nearer vicinity of their fertile meadows at Pawtuxet, causing the emergence of a question of bounds. The provisions of the Indian deed, in the later postscript memorandum, not written by Roger Williams, though witnessed by him, were indefinite, 'up the streams of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, without limits, for our use of cattle.' The deed itself gave 'the land from the two fresh rivers, called the Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket to the Pawtuxet River; as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtuxet river.' It became necessary in time to determine more clearly the vague provisions of the deed. The town records furnish the report of a committee, appointed by the town, to settle by arbitration the boundaries of the Pawtuxet division and all other differences of the townspeople. They were 'Robert Cole, Chad Brown, William Harris and John Warner, being freely chosen by the loving consent of their loving friends and neighbors'; and their report was presented in the summer of 1640.

This first committee of arbitrators proposed a future committee of five men, chosen by the whole inhabitants, 'to be betrusted with the disposal of lands and the town's stock, and all general things.' The town also was to choose, besides the other five men, one or more to keep record of all things belonging to the town and lying in common. In this first town document, the foundation principle of the Plantation was reiterated:

'We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so still to hold forth liberty of conscience.

[It was further] 'Agreed, that after many considerations and consultations of our own state and also of other states abroad, in way of government, we apprehend no way so suitable to our condition as government by way of arbitration.

[Still further it was] 'Agreed that the five disposers from the date hereof, shall meet every month day upon general things, and at the quarter day to yield a new choice and give up their old accounts.' [The quarter day was to be general town meeting.]

This committee consisted of four men, of whom Roger Williams was not one; but his spirit and guiding hand are evident in every line of its report.

The colonists at Aquidneck, with settlements at Portsmouth and Newport, had also organized themselves in a simple democratic government with Mr. Coddington as their magistrate. He was first called Judge, as in the Mosaic dispensation, then chosen as Governor early in March, 1640. Their affairs were managed peacefully until the coming of Samuel Gorton. Gorton was a good man, a man of strong character, and of subsequent importance, often holding office in the later united colony. But his decided opinions and aggressive temperament made him an early disturber of the peace in many Colonies.

Samuel Gorton first appeared in Boston in 1636 and was at once noted as a trouble-maker there. At Plymouth, where he went the next year, he so carried himself in a religious controversy with the minister, Ralph Smith, that he was fined and whipped and banished from the Colony by the Court. From Plymouth he went to Newport in June of 1638; but again a disturber of the peace, he was whipped and banished from the Rhode Island Colony and went to Providence. His offenses were in the nature of religious contentions; in Providence, 'that shelter for persons distressed of conscience,' he had no fear of prosecution. But he settled in Pawtuxet, and was soon the cause of friction there. John Winthrop recorded that Gorton 'instructed and captained' a party of

Providence Anabaptists who denied, not only infant baptism, but also all authority of magistrates and churches; but that Mr. Williams 'pacified' the two parties, who were come 'armed into the field, each against other.' Gorton's opponents at Pawtuxet then wrote to Massachusetts, 'complaining of the wrongs they suffered and desiring aid, or if not that, counsel.' The signers of the letter were William Field, William Harris, William Carpenter, William Wickenden, William Reynolds, Thomas Harris, Thomas Hopkins, Hugh Bewitt, Joshua Winsor, Benedict Arnold, William Man, William W. Hunkinges, and Robert R. West. Benedict Arnold wrote the letter. He was the leader of the Pawtuxet Colony before the coming of Gorton.

> 'We answered them [wrote Governor Winthrop] that we could not levy any war without a general court. For counsel we told them, that except they did submit themselves to some jurisdiction, either Plymouth's or ours, we had no calling or warrant to interpose in their contentions.'

Wherefore, in September, 1642, four of Pawtuxet, 'William Arnold, Robert Cole, William Carpenter and Benedict Arnold, his company,' 'who could not consort with Gorton and that company and therefore were continually injured and molested by them' went and offered their lands to the Bay Colony and were accepted under its government and protection. Governor Winthrop explained that this was done

> 'partly to rescue these men from unjust violence and partly to draw in the rest in those parts either under ourselves or Plymouth, who now lived under no government but grew very offensive; and the place was likely to be of use to us, especially if we should have occasion of sending out against any Indians of Narragansett and likewise for an outlet into Narragansett Bay; and seeing it came without our seeking and would be no charge to us, we thought it not wisdom to let it slip.'

Governor Winthrop evidently did not consider Pawtuxet as part of Providence, a settlement on part of the land purchased by Williams of the Indians, and intended by him always to be part of the plantation. But 'the four men of Providence' must have so known and so understood. This breaking off of part of the Colony of Providence and joining with Massachusetts was unfortunate in its results as well as in its cause.

In October, the next month, Mr. Gorton and his friends were commanded to come to Boston to answer the complaints of the company of Benedict Arnold; which Mr. Gorton and his companions, November 20, refused to do and denied the right of Massachusetts to interfere — in a long and characteristic document. Gorton's eleven companions were Randall Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power, and Sampson Shatton. But Gorton thought it prudent, nevertheless, to move across the river. In the following January, he and his followers bought of Miantonomo, Pomham, and another minor sachem, for forty-four fathoms of wampum, a tract of land south of the Pawtuxet River, called Shawomet by the Indians, renamed by Gorton later, Warwick.

The disunion in the Providence Colony by the withdrawal of Pawtuxet to Massachusetts Bay soon led to complications and difficulties. Internal troubles also rent the plantation at Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, and Roger Williams's help was again asked by them. In their assembly at Newport, in September of 1642, after the consideration of their need of a charter from England, a committee was appointed to secure one. By this committee Roger Williams was chosen as the proper agent to go to England to get a charter for both colonies.

Leaving his family, his wife Mary and their five children, he departed on his mission to England in June, 1643. For during these few years of internal disturbance, two events of a gratifying nature had occurred to Roger Williams in the birth of two children, Mercy, on July 4, 1640, and Daniel, February 13, 1642. It was but a month after the formation of a league of the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and two months before the Indian crisis came in the attack of Miantonomo on Uncas, the Mohegan, and the defeat and death of Miantonomo. The continued recurrence of difficulties with the Indians had made an association of the Colonies for protection appear their 'bounden duty.' The confederation was accomplished, in May of 1643, in the 'United Colonies of New England,' comprising Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven and Hartford, a 'consociation for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects we be and continue one.' Posterity notes that banishment from the Massachusetts Colonies was a finality. The plantations at Providence and Newport, Portsmouth and Pawtuxet, being excommunicated, banished and unchartered were not 'one with them,' in privilege, at any rate; but posterity notes that the banished Colonies were useful as allies.

# PART IV

## THE CHARTERS

## ROGER WILLIAMS, AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND

## (1643–1654)

## CHAPTER XIV

# THE SITUATION IN ENGLAND IN 1643

FROM New England to England in 1643 was a jump from the frying-pan into the fire. England was in the midst of a great civil war. Since Roger Williams's departure in 1630, events had moved relentlessly onward toward the inevitable doom of the old order. The Long Parliament was in session. Archbishop Laud, arch-persecutor of Puritans, was in the Tower, and the King with an army was in the field, working his way back toward London without decisive victory. Pym and Cromwell held the future in their hands.

In the great struggle between the Commons and the Crown, which Sir Edward Coke had so ably conducted to a climax in the Petition of Right in 1628, the advantage gained by the people in that acknowledgment of their rights had been steadily pressed by the Puritan Parliaments. The Petition of Right had assured the people of a voice in their government: and it had irretrievably undermined the doctrine of the absolute power of the King over his subjects. The only hope for Charles to pursue his 'Divine Right' was to rule without Parliaments. But that hope proved a forlorn one. The everlasting need of money and support forced an unwilling King to call an eager Parliament that would not vote supplies until its own needs of another nature, that of ecclesiastical reform (of the grievances against bishops), had been met. Finally the distrust of the King swelled into an expressed indictment — the Grand Remonstrance of the Long Parliament in 1641 — under Hampden and Pym and the Puritan members who had been carrying on Coke's advantageous beginning of the King's humbling to this bitter ending. Charles could not meet the situation. The question of which was stronger, King or Parliament, was settled. In less than two months the King left Whitehall. In August war had begun.

During the year between the King's call for loyal troops on August 22, 1642, and Roger Williams's arrival in London, the issue was in the balance. Indecisive engagements and small battles had brought the King near to London. But London itself was strongly Puritan, and a new leader was raised up in Oliver Cromwell. The nation's affairs in the hands of Parliament were affairs of religion mainly, of the national church to be. The claims of Presbyterians and Independents were in controversy. The majority in Parliament was Presbyterian; in the army, Independent. During this year Cromwell had been organizing his model regiment, the Ironsides, composed solely of 'men of religion.'

Roger Williams found the circumstances of his private life in London much changed also. His mother and his dearest friend and patron, Sir Edward Coke, had both died in the autumn of 1634, while he was in Salem. His brother Robert was residuary legatee and full and sole executor of his mother's will, by which Roger was to receive ten pounds yearly for twenty years. Robert Williams had followed Roger to the New World in 1635.

Roger Williams did not find himself without friends, however, and very influential ones, who were among the leaders in the famous Long Parliament. Sir William Masham, for whom he had been chaplain, Sir Thomas Barrington, Mrs. Masham's brother, Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Oliver St. John were members of the House of Commons. Cromwell, whose first speech in Parliament had been made in 1629 when Roger Williams was with Cromwell's cousins, the Mashams, in Essex, had been made Captain of Parliamentary Horse in 1642. In 1643, he was Colonel of his model regiment. In the rupture of 1647, between the army, controlled by the Independents, and Parliament, controlled by the Presbyterians, he sided with the army, and supported the measures by which the Independents obtained control of Parliament.

John Hampden, who had commanded a regiment for Parliament, had just been mortally wounded, on June 18, at the battle of Chalgrove Field. In 1637–38 he had been defendant in the case of the King *vs.* John Hampden, in the Court of the Exchecquer, for resisting the collection of Charles's tax on ship money. Oliver St. John, who had defended Hampden in the ship-money case, and who had married Joan Altham, Lady Masham's daughter, was Solicitor-General, Commissioner of the Great Seal and Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick, in 1643 was appointed head of the Commission for the Government of the New England Colonies, which incorporated the Providence Plantations the next year. (His father had bought his earldom from King James I in 1618, for ten thousand pounds.) He was intimately associated with Oliver Cromwell. His grandson and heir, Robert Rich, married Cromwell's daughter Frances, in 1657.

Sir Harry Vane was leader of the House of Commons at Hampden's death. He had returned to England in August, 1638 (when he failed of reëlection as Governor of Massachusetts Bay because of his espousal of Anne Hutchinson's cause and opinions), became a member of the Long Parliament in 1640, and joint treasurer of the navy. Now, in 1643, he was one of the commissioners who had just negotiated the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland; and he was a member of the famous Westminster Assembly, which began on July 1, composed largely of ministers, for the settlement of the liturgy and the government of the Church of England. 'Mr. Baillie, one of the chief divines,' wrote of 'my good acquaintance, Mr. Roger Williams.' Most important of all for the mission of Roger Williams, Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell were appointed on the Council, of five peers and twelve commoners, to whom was given, on November 3, the administration of the government of the New England Colonies, under the Earl of Warwick as Governor-General and Lord High Admiral.

Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Williams's successor in the church in Salem, was also in London, as was Mr. Welde, of the Roxbury Church, on a mission for the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In February, 1641, the General Court at Boston thought it would be fit to send some chosen men to negotiate for them, as occasion should be offered

'both in furthering the work of reformation of the churches there, which was now like to be attempted, and to satisfy our countrymen of the true cause why our engagements there have not been satisfied this year, as they were wont to be in all former time since we were here planted; and also to seek out some way, by procuring cotton from the West Indies or other means, that might be lawful and not dishonorable to the gospel, for our present supply of clothing, etc. for the country was like to afford enough for food, etc.'

At first Salem was unwilling to spare her pastor. But the advisability of New England representation in England became increasingly apparent. Immigration had practically ceased, and commerce greatly declined. According to John Winthrop's journal:

'The Parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this called all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing; a cow which cost last year twenty pounds might now be bought for four or five, etc., and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc. and to sow hemp and flax....'

In June the Court again

'thought fit to send some chosen men into England to con-

> gratulate the happy success there and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as in former years we had done, and to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice [!] as it should be required, for the settling the right form of church discipline there.'

The men chosen were Mr. Hugh Peters, pastor of the church in Salem; Mr. Thomas Welde, pastor of the church in Roxbury; and Mr. William Hibbins, a minister of Boston. They left New England August 6, 1641, and with them went one of the magistrates, Mr. John Winthrop, Jr.

Before the arrival of Roger Williams, these men had solicited Parliament to good advantage in behalf of the distant Colonies. They had sent a petition to the House of Lords 'for redress of that restraint which had been put upon ships and passengers to New England'; which petition was granted and the patent of the Bay Colony 'implicitly revived and confirmed.' The next year

> 'they procured five hundred pounds which they sent over in linen, woolen and other useful commodities for the country. By their means also, Mr. Richard Andrews, a haberdasher in Cheapside, London, a godly man, and who had been a former benefactor to this country, having five hundred pounds due to him from the governor and company of Plymouth, gave it to this colony to be laid out in cattle, and other course of trade for the poor.'

Mr. Hibbins returned to Boston in September, 1642; and John Winthrop went back in the spring of 1643. He had been successful in negotiations for a new industry in the Colonies, and brought with him 'one thousand pounds stock, and divers workmen to begin an iron work.' Mr. Peters was the only one of the three Massachusetts men left in England when Roger Williams arrived there.

It was fortunate for the cause of the plantations at Providence and Rhode Island that they could have as their ambassador Roger Williams, who was so closely allied to men of the highest influence and power in the Government of England, and who was so familiar with the procedure of Court and Parliament. And it also may be counted a piece of good fortune for Roger Williams to have the opportunity to undertake this embassy for a charter for the new Colonies. It brought him back to the well-remembered scenes of his youth, to the crowded city, at a time of the triumphing of the Puritans, but before the final adjustment. His spirit and disposition, tuned to conflict and tempered by adversity, plunged him with zest and renewed consecration into the greater manifestation of the same great struggle that he had left behind him in New England.

The King when he fled from London took up his headquarters at Nottingham. His supporters rallied mostly from the north and west of the kingdom. The supply of coal from Newcastle was thus cut off from London. Wood must be provided to take its place. During his stay in England, Roger Williams devoted himself to the Parliamentary cause, in the work of supplying the poor of London with firewood. He had scant leisure for the discussions which were part of the breath of life at the time, and for the literary labors that were necessarily laid upon him. But he found time to finish a book about the Indians, 'A Key into the Language of America,' which he began at sea, and to publish some other work he had already written — particularly the 'Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience.'

## CHAPTER XV

## LITERARY LABORS

MR. WILLIAMS had been obliged to take a Dutch ship from Manhattan, as the obvious and convenient port of Boston was denied to him. His offices as peacemaker between white men and red were required even when he was already on his journey. The Dutch treatment of the Indians had been unjust; and the Indian retaliation upon the Dutch and near-by English had been savage and cruel. Among the many raids, Mrs. Hutchinson, who, after the death of her husband, had left Newport and gone to live near New York, was murdered, with her whole household but one, to the number of sixteen. The one taken captive was Mrs. Hutchinson's little daughter, eight years old. She lived with the Indians four years, forgot her own language, and all her friends, and was loath to leave her new people when she was returned to the Dutch Governor, peace having been made between the Indians and the Dutch. Roger Williams was able to treat with these Indians, before unknown to him, and to make peace between them and the Dutch. Wherever he went, he was needed to help those in distress. He rejoiced in it. 'The peacemakers are sons of God,' he told John Winthrop once in reference to similar services.

Painfully he had gathered a store of knowledge of the barbarians he had found in the New World. It was of constant use in his new life there. On his long way back across the ocean, he had time and inclination to put his knowledge into concrete form for help of others, as he had been 'oft importuned by worthy friends of all sorts' to do. The first rough draft of his 'Key to the Indian Language' was made on shipboard. In his preface he said:

> 'I drew the materials in a rude lump at sea, as a private help to my own memory, that I might not, by my present

> absence, lightly lose what I had so dearly bought in some few years hardship and charges among the barbarians.'

It was revised and completed soon after his arrival, and was printed in London, in 1643, by Gregory Dexter, Roger Williams's 'dear and faithful friend,' who followed him to Providence to live, and whose house lot was one of the first line of lots along Towne Street.

The full title of this book is:

> 'A Key into the Language of America, or a Help to the Language of the Natives, in That part of America called New England; together with Brief Observations of the Customs, Manners and Worships, etc. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and War, in Life and Death. On all which are added, Spiritual Observations, general and particular, by the Author, of chief and special use (upon all occasions) to all the English inhabiting those parts; yet pleasant and profitable to the View of all Men.'

The book is dedicated 'to his dear and well-beloved friends and countrymen in Old and New England.' It is in the nature of a vocabulary and phrase-book and not in any sense a grammar, which he

> 'purposely avoided, as not so accommodate to the benefit of all.... This Key happily may unlock some rarities concerning the natives themselves, not yet discovered.... A little key may unlock a box wherein lies a bunch of keys.'

The little book is one long testimony and witness of the author's labors as a missionary and envoy among the Indians:

> 'I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. I once travelled to an Island of the wildest in our parts.... I was alone (having travelled from my bark, the wind being contrary), and little could I speak to them in their understandings, especially because of the change of their dialect, or manner of speech from our

neighbors, yet so much (through the help of God) I did speak, of the true and loving only wise God; of the creation; of man and his fall from God, etc; that at parting many burst forth: "Oh, when will you come again to bring us some more news of this God?"

'Canonicus, the old high sachem of the Narragansett Bay, (a wise and peaceable prince) once in a solemn oration to myself in a solemn assembly, using the word, wunnaumwayean (if he say true) said: "I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will.... If the Englishman speaks true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together." I replied that he had no cause to question Englishmen's faithfulness, he having had long experience of their faithfulness and trustiness. He took a stick and brake it into ten pieces, and related ten instances (laying down a stick to every instance) which gave him cause thus to fear and say wunnaumwayean. I satisfied him in some, and presented the rest to the governors of the English, who, I hope, will be far from giving just cause to have barbarians to question their faithfulness.

'It is wonderful to see how they will venture in those canoes and how (being oft overset, as I have myself been with them) they will swim a mile, yea two or more safe to land. I, having been necessitated to pass waters divers times with them, it hath pleased God to make them many times the instruments of my preservation; and when sometimes, in great danger, I have questioned safety, they have said to me: "Fear not, if we be overset, I will carry you safe to land."'

The book was a treasure of useful information for all who were to dwell near the Indians. William Wood, in 'New England's Prospects,' published in England in 1634 as a result of his visit to the Colonies in 1633, wrote of Roger Williams:

'One of the English preachers, in a special good intent of doing good to their [Indians'] souls, hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he is so good a proficient that he can speak to their understanding, and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsel. It is hoped that he may be an instrument of good amongst them.'

Wood's pious hope was realized.

The thirty-two short chapters of the 'Key' are devoted each to some particular phase of Indian life, as: 'Of Houses, Family, etc.' 'Of Eating and Entertainment,' 'Of the Weather,' 'Of their Religion, Souls, etc.,' and are arranged with such clearness and simplicity as to make them easy of reference. The 'spiritual observations' come at the end of each chapter and conclude it with a verse. At the end of Chapter I, 'On Salutation,' is the following:

'The courteous pagan shall condemn
Uncourteous Englishmen;
Who live like foxes, bears and wolves
Or lion in his den.

'Let none sing blessings to their souls
For that they courteous are.
The wild barbarians with no more
Than Nature, go so far.

'If Nature's sons, both wild and tame
Humane and courteous be,
How ill becomes it sons of God
To want humanity?'

Later, in 1645, John Eliot, minister at Roxbury, began his labors among the Indians at Natick and translated the Bible into their language — 'a rich and valuable mine of Indian philology, from which a complete grammar and dictionary might, with labor and perseverence, be extracted.' But for more than a decade before Eliot's work, Roger Williams's book was a practical guide for Englishmen in their dealings with the Indians, and it remains forever a source of information about the earliest inhabitants of New England. Moreover, and of more immediate importance, the little 'Key' had a practical value to Roger Williams in its distribution and popularity in England. It was instrumental in getting a letter from various peers and members of Parliament, which procured for him the convenience of returning home through Boston.

Except for the revision and completion of the 'Key,' Roger Williams's literary labors while in England were of the religious-controversial nature then in vogue. They comprise 'John Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered,' 'The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience,' and the 'Queries of Highest Consideration.' The writing of the day was artificial and involved in style, even that masterpiece of the time, Milton's 'Areopagitica.' English prose had not freed itself of the domination of the Latin influence; it was but recently that Bacon had written his great works in both Latin and English. The long, involved sentences, and highly articulated argument, make the reading of early seventeenth-century documents arduous and fatiguing. But these published works of Roger Williams are intensely interesting and highly important, in that they give to posterity, as they did to his contemporaries to whom they were addressed, his beliefs and opinions and the story of his persecution in his own words. The quality of the man illumines them; the reader glows with sympathy and admiration. Their unpolished, seeming carelessness and lack of finish of style were largely due to the misfortune of the circumstances under which they were written. In the 'Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody,' the difficulties are thus described:

> 'When these discussions were prepared for the public in London, the time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the Parliament and city, for the supply of the poor of the city with wood (during the stop of the coal from Newcastle and the mutinies of the poor for firing). These meditations were fitted for public view in change of rooms and corners, yea, sometimes (upon occasions of

> travel in the country concerning the business of fuel) in variety of strange houses, sometimes in the fields, in the midst of travel where I had been forced to gather and scatter my loose thoughts and papers.'

The publishing of 'John Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered' gave Roger Williams opportunity to present to the world his case of banishment from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. At the beginning he

> 'desires it to be seriously reviewed by Mr. Cotton, and them, and all men, whether the Lord Jesus be well pleased that one, beloved in him, should (for no other cause than shall presently appear) be denied the common air to breathe in, and a civil cohabitation upon the same common earth; yea, and also without mercy and human compassion be exposed to winter miseries in a howling wilderness?
>
> [And he asks further] 'Whether (since Mr. Cotton elsewhere professeth to expect far greater light than yet shines) upon the same grounds and practice, if Jesus Christ in any of his servants shall be pleased to hold forth a further light, Christ Jesus himself shall find the mercy and humanity of a civil and temporal life and being with them?'

He answers Mr. Cotton's question as to why he did not hearken to a twofold voice of Christ — first in his own church at Salem:

> 'I was then charged by office with the feeding of that flock; and when in the apprehension of some public evils, the whole country professed to humble itself and seek God, I endeavored, as a faithful watchman on the walls, to sound the trumpet and give the alarum; and upon a fast day in faithfulness and uprightness, as then (and still I am persuaded) I discovered eleven public sins, for which I believed (and do) it pleased God to inflict, and further to threaten public calamities. Most of which eleven, if not all, that church then seemed to assent unto; until afterwards in my troubles the greater part of that church was swayed and bowed (whether for fear of

persecution or otherwise) to say and practice what, to my knowledge, with sighs and groans, many of them mourned under.'

He clearly and concisely reviewed the causes of his banishment as they were stated at his trial.

'But because the Reader may ask both Mr. Cotton and me, what were the grounds of such a sentence of banishment against me, which are here called sandy, I shall relate in brief what those grounds were....

'After my public trial and answers to the general court, one of the most eminent magistrates (whose name and speech may by others be remembered), stood up and spake:

'"Mr. Williams," said he, "holds forth these four particulars;

'"First, That we have not our land by patent from the king but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent.

'"Secondly, That it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear, to pray, as being actions of God's worship.

'"Thirdly, That it is not lawful to hear any of the ministers of the parish assemblies in England.

'"Fourthly, That the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward state of men," etc.

'I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summed up, and I also hope, that, as I then maintained the rocky strength of them to my own and other consciences' satisfaction, so (through the Lord's assistance) I shall be ready for the same grounds, not only to be bound and banished, but to die also, in New England, as for most holy truths of God in Christ Jesus.'

He made his great indictment against Mr. Cotton in these words:

[Mr. Cotton] 'publicly taught and teacheth (except lately Christ Jesus hath taught him better) that body-killing, soul-killing and state-killing doctrine of not per-

mitting, but persecuting, all other consciences and ways of worship but his own in the civil state, and so consequently in the whole world, if the power or Empire thereof were in his hand.'
He acknowledged the Bay's witness against ceremonies and bishops; but he admonished them that they saw not the evil of a national church.

Distinctly and definitely he stated his allegiance to the civil state:

'I have ever desired to be unfeignedly tender [of civil peace], acknowledging the ordinance of magistracy to be properly and adequately fitted by God to preserve the civil state in civil peace and order; as he hath also appointed a spiritual government and governors in matters pertaining to his worship and the consciences of men, both which governments, laws, offences, punishments are essentially distinct, and the confounding of them brings all the world into combustion.'

Mr. Cotton in his letter said

'were my soul in your soul's stead, I should think it a work of mercy of God to banish me from the civil society of such a commonweal, where I could not enjoy holy fellowship with any church of God amongst them without sin.'

Roger Williams's reply stated:

'My soul's case was to be exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships of sea and land, in a banished condition. The truth is, both the mother and the daughter, Old and New England, for the countries and governments, are lands and governments incomparable; and might it please God to persuade the mother to permit the inhabitants of New England, her daughter, to enjoy their conscience to God, after a particular congregational way, and to persuade the daughter to permit the inhabitants of the mother, Old England, to walk there after their conscience of a parishional way, (which yet neither mother nor daughter is persuaded to permit), I conceive Mr. Cotton himself, were he seated in

> old England again would not count it a mercy to be banished from the civil state.'
>
> 'Would Mr. Cotton himself have preached in Old, or will he in New, England, with submission but to some few ceremonies, as the selling of this spiritual corn in a white coat or surplice? Did he not rather choose (which I mention to the Lord's and Mr. Cotton's honor) to have shut up his sack's mouth, to have been silenced (as they call it) and imprisoned, than to sell that heavenly corn otherwise than as he was persuaded the Lord appointed? Yea, hath he not in New England refused to admit the children of godly parents to baptism, or the parents themselves unto the fellowship of the supper, until they came into that order which he conceived was the order of the Lord's appointing?'

Mr. Cotton was highly thought of in London as well as in Boston. The year before

'letters from divers lords of the upper house, and some thirty of the House of Commons, and others from the ministers there who stood for the independency of churches had come to Mr. Cotton, of Boston, Mr. Hooker, of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, to call them, or some of them, if all could not, to England, to assist in the synod there appointed, to consider and advise about the settling of church government. Mr. Hooker liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call to go three thousand miles to agree with three men (meaning those three ministers who were for independency and did solicit in the parliament, etc.). Mr. Davenport thought otherwise of it. Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, though he was very averse to a sea voyage.'

But soon afterward, 'upon the breach between King and Parliament,' one of the lords who had written before, and Mr. Welde and Mr. Peters, sent word to the New England celebrities for them to wait until they heard further. By this small margin Roger Williams missed meeting his famous adversary on English soil. But their controversy was carried on in print, and their opposing opinions were recorded and made available to all and sundry.

# CHAPTER XVI

## LITERARY LABORS (*continued*)

### THE BLOODY TENENT

ROGER WILLIAMS's most important literary production, 'The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience,' a Conference between Truth and Peace, was presented 'to the High Court of Parliament, in all tender affection, amongst other passages of highest consideration.' It was printed without the name of the author; and the first impression was publicly burned by the Presbyterian Party, then in the majority in Parliament.

Roger Williams published his 'Bloody Tenent' as the testimony of a witness in the great case of Religion that was before Parliament. He could not hide his talents in a napkin. He could not keep out of the struggle that gripped his mother country. His soul's burning allegiance to Truth, his belief that through truth, and through truth only, comes peace, forced him into the conflict with all the strength of his powers.

> 'Having bought Truth dear, we must not sell it cheap, not the least grain of it for the whole world, — no, not for the saving of souls, though our own most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetning of a little vanishing pleasure; for a little puff of credit and reputation from the changeable breath of uncertain sons of men; for the broken bags of riches on eagles' wings; for a dream of these, any or all of these which on our deathbed vanish and leave tormenting stings behind them. Oh, how much better is it, from the love of Truth, from the love of the Father of Lights, from whence it comes, from the love of the Son of God, who is the way and the Truth, to say as he, John 18, 37: — For this end was I born; and for this

came I into the world, that I might bear witness to the Truth.'[1]

In this his great work of statement of his philosophy of life, he acknowledges, though indirectly, the influence of his patron, Coke, in forming it:

> 'Well spake that famous Elizabeth to her famous attorney, Sir Edward Coke: Mr. Attorney, go on as thou hast begun, and still plead, not *pro Domina Regina*, but *pro Domina Veritate.* [In a letter to Coke's daughter some time afterward, he wrote:] How many thousand times have I had honorable and precious remembrance of his person, and the life, the writings, the speeches and the examples of that glorious light. [Of his own duty in life, inherited from his constant pattern, Coke, he was

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[1] The Introduction gives the twelve points of the argument of the book:

'First, That the blood of so many hundred thousand souls of Protestants and Papists, spilt in the wars of present and former ages, for their respective consciences, is not required nor accepted by Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace.

'Second, Scripture arguments against the persecution doctrine.

'Third, Answers to Scripture arguments for the persecution doctrine.

'Fourth, Doctrine of persecution responsible for blood of martyrs.

'Fifthly, All civil states with their officers of justice, in the irrespective constitutions and administrations, are proved essentially civil and therefore not judges, governors or defenders of the spiritual or Christian state and worship.

'Sixthly, It is the will and command of God, that (since the coming of His Son, the Lord Jesus) a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish or Antichristian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations and countries; and that they are only to be fought against with that sword, which is only, in soul matters, able to conquer, to wit, the sword of God's Spirit, the Word of God.

'Seventhly, The state of the land of Israel, the kings and people thereof, in peace and war, is proved figurative and ceremonial and no pattern nor precedent for any kingdom or civil state in the world to follow.

'Eighthly, God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted or enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity, sooner or later, is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.

'Ninthly, Enforced uniformity disclaims hopes of Jews' conversion to Christ.

'Tenthly, Enforced uniformity confounds civil and religious, and denies principles of Christianity and civility.

'Eleventhly, Permission of other consciences, and uniformity of civil obedience *only* can procure firm and lasting peace.

'Twelfthly, Lastly, true civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom, notwithstanding the permission of divers and contrary consciences, either of Jews or Gentiles.'

> fully persuaded, — to be a witness of the Truth. Of the duty of parliaments he was equally certain:] Next to the saving of your own souls (in the lamentable shipwreck of mankind), your task as Christians, is to save the souls (of others); but as magistrates, the bodies and goods of others.'
>
> [The book is in the form of a dialogue between *Truth*,] 'banished by the evil world from all coasts and quarters of it, [and *Peace*, who] with wearied, tired wing has flown over nations, kingdoms, cities, towns to find out precious *Truth*.'

While figurative in outward form, and embellished with myriad figures of speech of rare beauty, and while encumbered with controversial digression and illustrative Scriptural detail, it holds, nevertheless, clear and forcible statement of the great principles which Roger Williams preached and practiced. He was not the discoverer of these principles; but he was the first to make them the rule of life, absolutely and unflinchingly, and to found a state upon them — to 'carry through' with honesty and courage, even to the establishment of a great future nation.

Addressed to the High Court of Parliament, the method of the book is again a refutation of a writing by John Cotton, this time a reply of Cotton to a former plea against persecution, by a religious prisoner in Newgate. This earlier book, or part of it, was sent to Cotton by Williams in 1635 (as Mr. Cotton later remembered the date), with a request for his judgment upon it. Its title was 'A Most Humble Supplication of the King's Majesty's Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all civil obedience by the oath of allegiance, or otherwise, and that of conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in religion) contrary to divine and human testimonies.' It was signed by His Majesty's 'loyal subjects unjustly called Anabaptists' and printed in 1620.

The author of these arguments against persecution, Mr. Williams explained, 'being committed by some then in power, close prisoner to Newgate, for the witness of some truths of Jesus, and having not the use of pen and ink, wrote these arguments in milk, in sheets of paper, brought to him by the woman his keeper, from a friend in London, as the stopples of his milk bottle. In such paper written with milk, nothing will appear: but the way of reading it by fire being known to this friend who received the papers, he transcribed and kept them together. [The circumstance of the writing in milk furnishes the explanation of Roger Williams's title, 'The Bloody Tenent': for he says:] It was in milk, tending to soul nourishment... tending both to the peace of souls and the peace of states and kingdoms, [but the answer of Mr. Cotton was written with] bloody and slaughterous conclusions; bloody to the souls of all men, forced to the religion and worship which every civil state or common-weal agrees on, and compels all subjects to, in a dissembled uniformity; [and] bloody to the bodies, first of the holy witnesses of Jesus Christ, who testify against such invented worships; second, of the nations and peoples slaughtering each other for their several respective religions and consciences.'

The book contains an able defense of Williams's central and controlling belief in the essential separation of a man's civil and religious opinions, of the non-unity of Church and State, of the inalienable right of every man to liberty of religious belief so long as it does not interfere with his duty to the civil State. The author's spirit and temper are bold and sure, but kindly and courteously so throughout. He never asperses his adversary's motives and character; he thinks of him and his followers, and always speaks of them, with respect and affection. To his thought their sin was mental, not moral.

Roger Williams published this book in a hope to influence Parliament. He told them:

'The greatest yokes lying upon English necks (the people's and your own) are of a spiritual and soul nature. All former parliaments have changed these yokes, according to their consciences (Popish or Protestant). 'Tis now your honor's turn at helm, and as your task, so I hope your resolution, not to change (for that is but to turn the wheel, which another parliament, and the very next, may turn again); but to ease the subjects and yourselves from a yoke (as was once spoke in a case not unlike, Acts 15), which neither you nor your fathers were ever able to bear.

'Let us view the works and acts of England's imitation of Josiah's practice. Henry the VII leaves England under the slavish bondage of the pope's yoke. Henry the VIII reforms all England to a new fashion, half Papist, half Protestant. King Edward VI turns about the wheel of the state and works the whole land to absolute Protestantism. Queen Mary, succeeding to the helm, steers a direct contrary course, breaks in pieces all that Edward wrought and brings forth an old edition of England's reformation all popish. Mary not living out half her days, (as the prophet speaks of bloody persons), Elizabeth, like Joseph advanced from the prison to the palace and from the irons to the crown; — she plucks up all her sister Mary's plants, and sounds a trumpet all Protestant.'

He confesses he is a 'suppliant at the Throne of Grace [in three requests for this Parliament: first that they should not reject or neglect the humble and faithful suggestions of any, though not of their own apprehensions, debates or conclusions;] second, that the present and future generations of the sons of men may never have cause to say that such a parliament (as England never enjoyed the like) should model the worship of the living, eternal and invisible God after the bias of any earthly interest; [which has been done in the past, even on the authority of the late great statesman,] that learned Sir Francis Bacon [who in his essay on 'Unity in Religion'] confesseth; "such as hold pressure of con-

> science are guided therein by some private interests of their own"; [and thirdly,] Whatever way of worshipping God your own consciences are persuaded to walk in, yet (from any bloody act of violence to the consciences of others) it may be never told at Rome nor Oxford that the Parliament of England hath committed a greater rape than if they had forced or ravished the bodies of all the women in the world.'

Not only 'to the right honorable, both houses of the High Court of Parliament,' to whom his book was presented, but 'to every courteous reader,' he had some prefatory words of explanation of his purpose.

> 'If Paul, if Jesus Christ were present here at London, and the question were proposed what religion would they approve of, the Papists, Prelatists, Presbyterians, Independents, etc. would each say, "Of mine! Of mine!"... I confess I have little hopes till those flames (kindled in the bloody persecution of Queen Mary) are over, that this discourse against the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience should pass current (I say not amongst the wolves and lions, but even amongst the sheep of Christ themselves) yet *liberavi animam meam.* I have not hid within my breast my soul's belief.'
>
> 'In vain have English Parliaments permitted English Bibles in the poorest English houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soul's persuasion from the Scriptures, they should be forced (as if they lived in Spain or Rome itself without the sight of a Bible) to believe as the church believes.'

In the beginning of his argument he meets the charge of being an 'enemy to peace, contentious, turbulent, seditious,' in an 'arrogant and impetuous holding forth of doctrine or practice tending to disturbance of civil peace.' He says:

> 'It is the charge (together with that of obstinacy, pertinacity, pride, troublers of the city, etc.) which

Satan commonly loads the meekest of the saints and witnesses of Jesus with; [he gives examples at length and in detail. He shows that] breach of civil peace comes not from the holding forth of doctrines or practices, but from that wrong and preposterous way of suppressing, preventing and extinguishing such doctrines or practices by weapons of wrath and blood, whips, stocks, imprisonment, banishment, death, etc.'

[He makes clear that civil peace is not affected by breach of peace with the church, by his definition of the Church:]

'The Church or company of worshippers (whether true or false) is like unto a body or college of physicians in a city; like unto a corporation, society or company of East-India or Turkey merchants, or any other society or company in London; which companies may hold their courts, keep their records, hold deputations; and in matters concerning their Society, may dissent, divide, break into schisms and factions, sue and implead each other at the law, yea, wholly break up and dissolve into pieces and nothing — and yet the peace of the city not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the essence or being of the city, and so the well-being and peace thereof, is essentially distinct from those particular societies; the city courts, city laws, city punishments, distinct from theirs. The city was before them, and stands absolute and entire, when such a corporation or society is taken down. For instance further, the city or civil state of Ephesus was essentially distinct from the worship of Diana in the city, or of the whole city. Again, the Church of Christ in Ephesus (which were God's people converted and called out from the worship of that city into Christianity or worship of God in Christ) was distinct from both.

'A commonweal is a true commonweal, although it have not heard of Christianity; and Christianity professed in it (as in Pergamos, Ephesus, etc.) makes it no more a commonweal; and Christianity taken away, and the candlestick removed, makes it ne'er the less a commonweal.

> 'A Christian captain, Christian merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master and (so, consequently) magistrate is no more a captain, merchant, physician, lawyer, pilot, father, master, magistrate than a captain, merchant, etc. of any other conscience or religion.'

John Cotton had said it was not lawful to persecute any for conscience' sake rightly informed, for in persecuting such Christ himself is persecuted. He did not add who was to be the judge of the 'right information' of those to be persecuted. But Roger Williams pointed out when the Lord Jesus was persecuted thus:

> 'Search all Scriptures, histories, records, monuments, consult with all experiences, did ever Pharaoh, Saul, Ahab, Jezebel, Scribes and Pharisees, the Jews, Herod, the bloody Neroes, Gardiners, Boners, Pope or Devil himself, profess to persecute the son of God, Jesus as Jesus, Christ as Christ, without a mask or covering?
>
> 'No: saith Pharaoh, the Israelites are idle, and therefore speak they of sacrificing; David is risen up a conspiracy against Saul, therefore persecute him; Naboth hath blasphemed God and the king, therefore stone him; Christ is a seducer of the people, a blasphemer against God, and traitor against Cæsar, therefore hang him; Christians are schismatical, factious, heretical, therefore persecute them; the Devil hath deluded John Huss, therefore crown him with a paper of Devils and burn him, etc.'

The first part of the 'Bloody Tenent' was based upon Mr. Cotton's answer to the early writing on religious persecution by the prisoner in Newgate. The second part was an examination and answer of the 'Model of Church and Civil Power,' composed by ministers of New England, and sent to the church at Salem, as a further confirmation of the bloody doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience. Roger Williams characterizes it as

> 'a model (framed by many able, learned and godly hands) of such a church and commonweal as wakens Moses from his unknown grave and denies Jesus yet to have seen the earth.'

Mr. Cotton, as chief minister in the Colony, was the virtual head of the theocracy of Massachusetts, and by his strength and influence so established the Mosaic rule that his form of government lasted until long after his death. By law every freeman or 'member of the Commonweal' must be a member of the church. The model constitution settles the

'question, how the civil state and the church may dispense their several governments without infringement and impeachment of the power and honor of the one or of the other, and what bounds and limits the Lord hath set between both the administrations.'

Roger Williams attacked the 'model' section by section in proof of his clear knowledge and conviction that it was based on a fundamental error; that

> 'to sit on the bench, and stand at the bar, of Christ Jesus, is as impossible as to reconcile the East and West together.
>
> 'The church must judge when the magistrate offends; and yet the magistrate must judge when the church offends.'

He shows that the Mosaic law and Old Testament theocratic government applied to the special case of ancient Israel alone, and was directly inconsistent with, and contrary to, the principles of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, who was a prince of peace, and not of persecution. By his scholarly interpretation of the Greek words of the very texts that formed the basis of the opponents's argument, he proved the incorrectness of their application. By his copious illustrations from the Scriptures and from English history, he controverted his adversary's claims, and showed that

> 'God's cause, Christ's truth, and the two-edged sword of his Word, never stood in need of a temporal sword, or a human witness to confirm and ratify them. How many excellent pen-men fight each against other with their pens (like swords) in the application of those prophecies of David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zachariah, John, when and how those prophecies shall be fulfilled!
>
> 'The want of discerning this true parallel, between Israel in the type then, and Israel the anti-type now, is that rock whereon (through the Lord's righteous jealousy, punishing the world and chastising his people) thousands dash and make woeful shipwreck.'
>
> And of the application of New Testament texts, as Luke's 'compel them to come in,' Roger Williams says: 'Compel them to mass, say the Papists; compel them to church and common prayer, say the Protestants; compel them to meeting, say the New English.'
>
> But 'The Israel of God now, men and women, fight under the great lord general the Lord Jesus Christ; their weapons, armor, and artillery is like themselves spiritual, set forth from top to toe, Ephes. 6., so mighty and potent that they break down the strongest holds and castles, yea in the very souls of men, and carry into captivity the very thoughts of men, subjecting them to Christ Jesus. They are spiritual conquerors.'

The 'Bloody Tenent' states the principles that Roger Williams spent his life in proving. His clear vision of Truth, his utter and unswerving devotion to his prophet's call to preach soul liberty, found worthy expression in it:

> '*Truth.* Speak on; here is some sand left in this our hour-glass of opportunity. One grain of Time's inestimable sand is worth a golden mountain. Let's not lose it.'

## CHAPTER XVII

## THE CHARTER AND THE COLONY

So successful was Roger Williams in his negotiations with the Commission for the Government of the Colonies that he received from them, on March 14, 1644, a free and absolute charter of civil incorporation and government for the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, to be known by the name of

> 'The Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England.'

Thus was the main purpose of his visit to England accomplished. By his spoken and written word he had been not less fortunate in convincing powerful friends of the justice of his complaint of the treatment he had received from Boston. When he landed at that port, on September 17, instead of at New York from which he had sailed, he brought with him a letter 'to the Right Worshipful the governor and assistants and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massachusetts Bay, in New England,' signed by 'divers lords and others of Parliament,' twelve of them, among whom were his old friends, Sir William Masham, Sir Thomas Barrington, and Oliver St. John — a plea for reconcilement between their estranged countrymen:

'Our Much honored friends:

'Taking notice, some of us of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemies and oppressors of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travail in his printed Indian labors in your parts, the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America, and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of Parliament freely to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode; and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of other, as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you, there should be such a distance; we thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavors of nearer closing, and of ready expressing of those good affections, which we perceive you bear each to other, in the actual performance of all friendly offices; the rather because of those bad neighbors you are like to find too near unto you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland; that howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshing to

'Your true and faithful friends

'NORTHUMBERLAND P. WHARTON
'ROB. HARLEY THOS. BARRINGTON
'WM. MASHAM OL. ST. JOHN
'JOHN GURDON ISAAC PENNINGTON
'COR. HOLLAND GIL. PYKERING
'J. BLAKISTON MILES CORBET'

The magistrates of Massachusetts Bay, however,

'saw no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams; but for any offices of Christian love, and duties of humanity, they were very willing to maintain a mutual correspondence with him. But as to his dangerous principles of separation, unless he could be brought to lay them down, they saw no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, free liberty of ingress and egress, lest any of their people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions.'

John Endicott was Governor. Mr. Williams was allowed to pass through their territory unmolested, but that privilege was as much as they could see of their duty. They were alarmed by the spread of Anabaptists and other heretics; in November their General Court passed an act of banishment against all such.

At Seekonk the father of the Providence Plantations met with a warm reception. His ardent nature, fortified by the knowledge of the success of his mission in behalf of the settlers that had come out to meet him, responded to it with demonstrative enthusiasm and pleasure. Richard Scott was one of the occupants of the fourteen canoes that met the returning travelers. His uncourteous comment on the scene, in a letter written later, reflects upon himself, rather than upon the subject of his spleen, the hero of the hour.

> 'The man being hemmed in, in the middle of the canoes, was so elevated and transported out of himself that I was condemned in myself, that amongst the rest, I had been an instrument to set him up in his pride and folly.'

Roger was delighted to be home again with his friends and neighbors; to be bringing them a wonderful gift, the new charter; most of all, undoubtedly unselfish though he was, to be reunited, after an absence of a year and a quarter, with his 'dear companion' and his six children. He had left but five. He had never seen little Joseph, born in December, after his departure in June of the year before.

Roger Williams found that affairs in the plantations had suffered without his helping hand. Particularly and immediately, Indian affairs. His friend Miantonomo was dead; murdered by the Mohegan Uncas, so the Narragansetts believed. It was rather an execution than a murder, ordered by the English of Massachusetts Bay, under the direction of their ministers, unbelievable as it seems. Every reader knows that such a thing could not have happened if Roger Williams had been near enough to advise and control the savages as he alone was able to do. But as soon as his restraining influence was removed, Miantonomo persuaded himself of the necessity of his attack upon the Mohegans. It was contrary to the treaty he had made with the English of Massachusetts and Connecticut at Hartford in 1638, not to make war without their knowledge and consent. But in his eyes the treachery of Uncas had already broken the spirit of the treaty; and the English had been so hoodwinked by this traitor that they, too, no longer abode by it.

With a thousand men he made siege against his enemy, in August of 1643, soon after Roger Williams sailed for England. Although Uncas had but a third as many men, Miantonomo was defeated and taken prisoner by Uncas, and, by the direction of Samuel Gorton, sent to Hartford. The Commission of the United Colonies at Boston in September was undecided what to do with him. They presented the case to five of their 'most judicious elders,' who in their strange interpretation of justice and mercy, sent him back to Uncas to be killed in cold blood. Roger Williams returned to the Narragansett country to find the Indians resolved to avenge their great sachem's death with that of Uncas. The Commissioners of the United Colonies at Hartford, September, 1644, prevailed upon the Indians to delay their operations until after next planting time.

Roger Williams was at once the intermediary between Indians and English. In June of the next year, he wrote to Governor Winthrop:

> 'For ourselves, the flame of war rageth next door to us. The Narragansetts and Mohegans with their respective confederates have deeply implunged themselves in barbarous slaughters. For myself, I have (to my utmost) dissuaded our neighbors, high and low, from arms etc. but there is a spirit of desperation fallen upon them, resolved to revenge the death of their prince and recover their ransom for his life, etc. or to perish with him.'

He was able, however, finally to accomplish a peace, and Indian war was averted for many years. He induced Passacus, the sachem, Miantonomo's brother, who succeeded him, and who had sent for Williams to go to Boston (with his chief men) and make a treaty with the Commissioners in August, 1645. By this treaty Passacus agreed to pay two thousand fathoms of wampum for the war expenses which the English had already incurred in raising an army of three hundred men, to leave three royal children as hostages, and to make peace with Uncas.

Samuel Gorton and his followers had been released from their confinement and punishment in the Bay Colony, and were returned to Providence, where Roger Williams found Gorton on his return, and wrote thereof to Governor Winthrop:

> 'Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Aquidneck is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism: almost all suck in his poison, as at first they did at Aquidneck. Some few and myself withstand his inhabitation and town privileges, without confession and reformation of his uncivil and inhuman practices at Portsmouth; yet the tide is too strong against us, and I fear (if the framer of hearts help not) it will force me to little Patience, a little isle next to your Prudence.'

His part of Prudence he had sold to defray the expenses of his trip to England.

Upon complaint of Gorton and his associates, Mr. Holden and Mr. Greene, to England, the Commissioners of the New England Colonies there granted the petitioners freely and quietly to live and plant upon Shawomet and sent word to Massachusetts Bay Colony to that effect, giving the complainants permission to pass through Massachusetts territory on their way to their tract of land on Narragansett Bay. The Bay Colony thereupon sent Mr. Edward Winslow to England to justify Massachusetts's course to Parliament, sending full reports of their dealings with Gorton, with copies of the letters of Gorton and his company

'faithfully copied out (not verbatim only, but even literatim, according to their own bad English): thereby it will appear what the men are and how unworthy your favor. Thereby also will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, and our long patience toward them, till they became our professed enemies and wrought us disturbance and attempted our ruin. In which case, our charter, as we conceive, gives us full power to deal with them as enemies by force of arms.'

While engaged in these varied enterprises for the common weal, for the purpose of earning a living for himself and his family, Mr. Williams established a trading-house at Cawcumcussoc (Wickford) in the country of the Narragansetts. From here he wrote often to his friend, John Winthrop, Jr., who was establishing the settlement of New London at Pequot. He wrote of being 'very sick of cold and fever'; he sent directions, which had been requested, for the planting of hay seed; he transmitted messages from the Indians, from Ninigret, of the Niantics, subject to the Narragansetts, etc.; and to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, through Mr. Winthrop, their representative; he sent for medicines and medical advice, in which Mr. Winthrop was skilled; and he exchanged books with him and comments upon their contents.

The new charter permitted 'such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they should find most suitable to their estate and condition.' But it took some time for the three settlements of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport to decide upon and adopt any form of government. Finally, the first General Assembly met at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647, and William Coggeshall was chosen President. Of the four assistants, one for each town (including Warwick), Roger Williams was chosen assistant for Providence; and a resolution was passed granting him a hundred pounds for his 'so great trouble, charges and good endeavors' in obtaining a charter for the Province. It was to be paid by the last of November, fifty pounds from Newport, thirty from Portsmouth, and twenty from Providence. Yet a letter of Mr. Williams, in 1681, recorded: 'Our first charter cost a hundred pounds, though I never received it all.' This first General Assembly passed a vote giving Roger Williams 'leave to suffer a native to kill fowl at Narragansett and to sell a little wine or strong waters to some natives in sickness.'

The Assembly also passed a code of laws, which witnessed Roger Williams's spirit and guiding hand in its concluding words:

> 'Otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk, in this colony, without molestation, in the name of Jehovah, their God, forever and ever.'

The founder of the plantations of Providence placed an ideal standard before his companions, and set them a high example of following it: but he had a hard time trying to keep them up to his level.

In December, after the first General Assembly of August, 1647, at Providence, Roger Williams and seven others (each town was to choose a Town Council of six persons yearly) made an agreement which put on record that brotherly love was to be the guiding principle in the administration of affairs in their town of Providence. It was a remarkable document: a religious document, as well as a civil: quite the opposite of the fiats of the theocracy of Boston. After enumeration of the blessings and privileges, the signers

'faithfully and unanimously promise unto each other to keep unto the ensuing particulars': 'First, in order that the foundation of love may appear among them,' never to mention in their assembly any previous differences they may have had, public or private, but to let 'love cover the multitude of them in the grave of oblivion'; secondly, 'in order that union may proceed from love,' to keep constant in their engagements both to town and colony, and, in order 'that love may appear in union, to abandon all causeless fears and jealousies of one another, only aiming at the general and particular peace and union of the town and colony'; and lastly, 'that love and union may appear in order,' 'agitating' all future differences in judgment through argumentation, to act, 'not after the will and person of any, but into the justice and righteousness of the cause.'

Robert Williams, brother of Roger, one of the signers of this agreement, was therefore a neighbor and fellow townsman. The other six subscribers to it were John Smith, Hugh Bewit, William Wickenden, John Tripp, Thomas Hopkins, and William Hawkins.

## Chapter XVIII

## FRICTION IN THE COLONY THROUGH MR. CODDINGTON AND WITH THE INDIANS

The next year, at the annual election in May, Mr. Coddington, of Newport, was chosen President of the Colony, and Roger Williams again assistant for Providence. Mr. Coddington and some adherents were not satisfied with the status of the plantations at Portsmouth and Newport, and in September, he and Mr. Partridge personally applied to the Commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to have the island of Rhode Island admitted to their league. The request, however, was refused, unless they would place themselves under the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Mr. Coddington and Portsmouth inclined to consent to the condition: the three other towns opposed it. Mr. Holden and Mr. Warner, of Warwick, who were in Plymouth at the same time as Mr. Coddington, explained there that they could not depart from their charter.

Roger Williams was well aware of the disagreements brewing trouble in the Colony and again made himself a successful 'pacificator.' His letter in August to the town of Providence, written in an uplifting and inspiring vein of coöperation and helpfulness, suggested arbitration by a committee made up of three members from each of the two parties — three from Portsmouth and Mr. Coddington's party, and one from each of the other towns, Providence, Newport, and Warwick — to meet at his house for the settlement of the difficulties. He felt that

> 'The counsels of the Most High are deep concerning us poor grasshoppers, hopping and skipping from twig to branch in this vale of tears.'

His letter began:

> 'Worthy friends, that ourselves and all men are apt and prone to differ, it is no new thing. In all former ages, in all parts of the world, in these parts, and in our own dear native and mournful state of England, that either part or party is most right in his own eyes, his cause right, his carriage right, his arguments right, his answers right, is as woefully and constantly true as the former.... And since, dear friends, it is an honor to cease from strife; since the life of love is sweet, and union is as strong as sweet, and since you have been lately pleased to call me to some public service, and my soul hath been long musing how I might bring water to quench, and not oil or fluid, to the flame, I am now humbly bold to beseech you, by all those comforts of earth and heaven which a placable and peaceable spirit will bring to you, and by all those dreadful alarms and warnings, either amongst ourselves, in death and sickness, or abroad in the raging calamities of the sword, death and pestilence: I say, I humbly and earnestly beseech you to be willing to be pacifiable, willing to be reconcilable, willing to be sociable, and to listen to the (I hope not unreasonable) motion following.'

Soon afterward he notified John Winthrop at New London that in the division of his neighbors he had presented motions of pacification amongst which he was bold to propose a reference to Mr. Winthrop's worthy self and some other friend to be chosen: and that possibly Mr. Winthrop might have the trouble and honor of a peacemaker. A few months later:

> 'Our poor colony is in civil dissension. Their last meetings, at which I have not been, have fallen into factions. Mr. Coddington, Captain Partridge are the heads of the one, and Captain Clarke, Mr. Easton the heads of the other faction. I receive letters from both, inviting me, etc., but I resolve (if the Lord please) not to engage, unless with hopes of peace-making. The peacemakers are Sons of God. [In another letter shortly fol-

> lowing:] I wrote to them about an act of oblivion, which, blessed be the god of peace, they have passed.'

Mr. Coddington went to England, and in March, Roger Williams, in spite of his reluctance, was made Deputy President of the Colony in the absence of the President till the election of May. In March, also, the town of Providence was incorporated. The election of May, 1649, was held in Warwick, and Mr. John Smith, formerly a 'Boston merchant or shop-keeper,' was chosen President according to his (Mr. Williams's) 'soul's wish and endeavor,' to give himself some rest. He was a very busy man, with more work and care than is wont to fall to the lot of one person.

He got back from the Court at Warwick to his trading-house at Cawcumcussoc late one night and wet. Traveling had more inconvenience then than now, and to this pioneer's lot fell the hardship of constant travel, night and day, not in his own interests, but for the public good. Next morning, after the Court, he wrote to John Winthrop two important items of news, besides that of the election of the new President. One was of great local importance:

> 'All wines and strong waters are forbidden the natives throughout the colony, only a privilege betrusted in my hand, to spare a little for necessities.'

The other was 'the high news about the King,' as Mr. Winthrop noted upon the reverse of the letter.

> 'Sir, tidings are high from England: many ships from many parts say, and a Bristol ship come to the Isle of Shoals within a few days confirms, that the King and many great lords and parliament men are beheaded. London was shut up on the day of execution, not a door to be opened. The states of Holland, and the Prince of Orange (forced by them) consented to proceedings. It is said Mr. Peters preached (after the fashion of England) the funeral sermon to the King, after sentence, out of the terrible denunciation to the king of Babylon, Esa. 14, 18, etc.'

During all the time of internal trouble in the Colony, through the agitations of Mr. Coddington on the island of Rhode Island on the one side, and of Mr. Gorton at Shawomet on the other, Roger Williams was not only the family peacemaker, as it were, but he was continually sought as mediator between the Indians and the English, both of his own Colony and the neighboring ones of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The Mohawks attacked Uncas, soon after Mr. Williams's return from England, and it was thought by the English that the Narragansetts were the instigators. His great influence over the Narragansetts averted the threatened warfare: but the payment of the two thousand fathoms of wampum, by the reluctant Indians, was a long and tedious matter.

Waupinhommin, a proud, desperate abuser of the English and a firebrand to stir up the natives against them, 'made it all his trade to run between the Mohawks and the Narragansetts,' and, being a captain also himself, rendered the Mohawks more terrible and powerful than the English. In October, 1648, the Mohawk menace was the reason for a meeting at Mr. Williams's house, of the sachems, and Captain Atherton, Captain Pritchard, and others of the Bay, who stayed with him six or seven days, and after his happy mediation, 'departed with good content toward the Bay.' The final payment of the wampum was not made until much later.

In September, 1650, it pleased God to give him and the English, and the natives that were met together, and the whole land a gracious deliverance from the plague of war. Captain Atherton, and twenty soldiers and three horses came to Roger Williams's house to demand from the Indians the rest of the pay, three hundred and eight fathoms. After much parleying, Captain Atherton, unknown to Roger Williams, planned a desperate and dangerous maneuver. At an evening counsel with the Indians, he drew up his men roundabout the sachems in a hole (the Indians were twenty against one of the English, armed and ready with guns and bows). Then Captain Atherton asked Mr. Williams to tell the sachems he would take Ninigret and Passacus by force. Mr. Williams, surprised, protested to the Captain before Indians and English, that he was betrayed; for he said he would not have hazarded life or blood for a little money, and that, knowing his cause was right, he would not be desperate, with so few men to assault kings in the midst of such guards, and be without a stick or a knife about him. There might have been a great slaughter, as the soldiers afterward confessed. But he prevailed upon the Captain to stay four days at his house, during which time the Indians brought in the peage, himself laying down ten fathoms, 'as formerly I had done twenty (God knows beyond my ability).' His house being full of soldiers, he wrote the account of the affair 'in haste in an Indian house.'

His services were in constant requisition for several years in smoothing the friction and allaying the irritation resulting from the dealings between natives and planters. Not only his knowledge of the Indian character, its tendencies to revenge, treachery, and parsimony, were necessary for his success with them, but, quite as important, his genuine interest in them, his love of their souls, and his true friendship for his countrymen. That he spent his time and patience and wisdom prodigally in the cause of Indian peace is wholly evident in his copious letters to John Winthrop, full of petty, and no doubt irksome and time-consuming, details of adjustment.

Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., appreciated Roger Williams's services to the English in dealing with the Indians, as his father John Winthrop had done, and more, for he was in a position to realize more fully their value. He answered Roger Williams's letter explaining the final settlement of the wampum by return messenger.

'Sir, I received your letter this morning and must write back in haste, the messenger being hastily to return, thanking you for the intelligence of this matter, which neither from the Commissioners or from any of the government or any other way, I have had the least intimation of, either by message or by letter. I thank you chiefly for your endeavors of bringing the Indians to a peaceable conclusion of matters. The whole country are much obliged to you for your care herein, as formerly for your labors and travails in this kind, which they cannot be so sensible of, who do not fully understand the nature and manner of the Indians who are brought to a right.'

The health of his Indian charges was Roger Williams's continual care and labor. Mr. Winthrop had a considerable knowledge of medicine and to him Mr. Williams made frequent appeals, for the natives and for his own people as well.

> 'Sir, I have a great suit to you, that at your leisure you would fit and send something that you find suitable for these Indian bodies, in a way of purge or vomit: as also some drawing plaster, and if the charge run to one or two crowns, I shall thankfully send it.' At another time: 'I am not yet resolved of a course for my daughter. If your powder, with directions, might be sent without trouble, I should first wait upon God in that way; however 'tis best to wait upon him. If the ingredients be costly, I shall thankfully account. I have books that prescribe powders, but yours is probatum in this country.'

The two men frequently exchanged books. This same letter says:

> 'I have been bold to send you the "Medulla" and the "Magnalia Dei."' A later one gives: 'Humble thanks for the sight of papers from England. The sea will be the sea till it is no more. Revel. 21.' 'If you have by you the "Trial of Wits" [probably meaning a popular book of Bishop Shirley's, entitled the 'Trial of Witnesses of the Resurrection'!] at convenience spare it me a few days.' 'By this bearer I received your book and had by the same returned it but that I desire to read it over once more, finding it pleasant and profitable; and crave the sight of

any other of that subject at your leisure, kindly thanking you for this enclosed.' 'I gladly expect your book, and one of the Parliament's Declarations which I lent the Long Island Englishman, who past hereby in winter.' 'If you have Carpenter's "Geography," or other discourse about the earth's diurnal motion, spare it a little to your most unworthy R.W.' 'Mr. Caukin tells me of a book ("The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption") lately come over in Mr. Pynchon's name, wherein is some derogation to the blood of Christ. The book was therefore burnt in the market place in Boston, and Mr. Pynchon to be cited to the court. If it come to your hand, I may hope to see it.' In June, 1650, he anxiously asks for news of a rumored reply to his 'Bloody Tenent.' 'You may please to remember that I have been large (in the "Bloody Tenent") in the difference between the land of Israel and all others. It is in discussing of the model. Mr. Cotton refers the answer to the rest of the elders, whose answer or reply I yet hear not of, and pray you, if you do, to intimate. 'Tis a controversy wherein I am deeply engaged, of which you will (if God please) see more.'

He speaks thus of that very popular book, 'Eikon Basilike' or 'Portraiture of King Charles I in His Solitudes and Sufferings' (of which fifty editions had appeared, and the author was unknown; many thought the King was the author, but it was probably written by Bishop Gauden, who later claimed it):

> 'The Portraiture I guess is Bishop Hall's; the style is pious and acute, very like his, and J. H. subscribes the epitaph; probably he presented these passages to the King in the times of his restraint, for he was truly the bishop's King and breathed from first to last absolute monarchy and episcopacy.'

The letters give the news from England progressively, as in February, 1649:

> 'Sir, this last week I read an ordinance of both houses, (dated third month, May last) decreeing death to some consciences, but imprisonment to far more, ever (upon the point) to all but Presbyterians.' To John Winthrop, at Boston or elsewhere: 'I was bold to write your dearest for a word of English information; which I think will come by the English who went to see your parts.... I am sorry I have no horse, nor boat fit to serve you at this time. My canoe with a wind fair would quickly set you here with ease. I have writ to my wife that it may attend you.' 'The messenger tells me you have that tidings about Prince Rupert [nephew of King Charles, and at that time Admiral in the navy against Parliament] whose name in these parts sounds as a north-east storm of snow.'

In this letter is evidence of his practical friendship for Mr. Winthrop and his wife, though every letter includes an affectionate message to her:

> 'Hearing [of] want of pins, I crave Mrs. Winthrop's acceptance of two small papers that if she want not herself she may pleasure a neighbor.'

In the summer of 1649 his 'eldest daughter of seventeen' was with him at Cawcumcussoc. The following winter, his wife was with him there, and sent messages in one of his letters to John Winthrop, begging for some medicine for a Warwick neighbor. In October, Roger Williams received 'a large and pious letter from Lady Vane,' which he promised shortly to his friend, remarking that 'Sir Henry's opinion is — persecution approaching.' The winter of 1649–50 was a 'sharp time.' But its rigor only moved Roger Williams to

> 'bless God, who hath provided warm lodging, food and clothing, and so seasonable and admirable an element of fire for his poor creatures against such times; the same blessed Lord make us learn of his little ants (Prov. 6) to provide timely against eternal bitterness. *Hoc momentum unde pendet aeternitas*. As yet we have not tidings from our mother.'

In March, the natives killed a moose on one of John Winthrop's hummocks by Fisher's Island. In the spring the fishing was unusually good. The natives took 'abundance of sturgeon and cod and bass.' Benedict Arnold wished to buy Roger Williams's shallop for that work. At about this time Arnold bought a house and land at Newport; and Mr. Throckmorton, who had gone there, sent for his wife and Mrs. Arnold. The Arnolds moved to Newport in 1653. He had lived in Providence, which he helped to found, for seventeen years. At Newport he became one of the leading men of the town and later Governor of the whole Colony. The Old Stone Mill, one of the historic treasures of modern Newport, built in the likeness of a mill in Oxfordshire,[1] England, was the grist mill of Benedict Arnold.

That winter, the way of new baptism spread at Seekonk as well as at Providence and the Island.

> 'At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke (of Newport) and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism and the manner of dipping; and Mr. John Clarke hath been there lately (and Mr. Lucar) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great founder Christ Jesus than other practices of religion do, and yet I have not satisfaction, neither in the authority by which it is done nor in the manner.'

The spread of Anabaptistry, and the establishment of a Baptist church at Seekonk as well as at Newport, were looked upon with distrust and anxiety by Massachusetts. When Mr. John Clarke and Mr. Obadiah Holmes and Mr. Crandall were appointed by the Newport church to visit an old man of their faith near Lynn, at his request, the magistrates at the Bay decided it was time to act. They arrested and imprisoned the three men and sentenced them to be fined or whipped. They refused to pay the fines, which would be acknowledgment that they were wrong. Mr. Clarke's fine, however, was paid without his knowledge. Mr. Holmes was whipped so severely that for a long time 'he could take no rest except by supporting himself on his knees and elbows.' Two of his friends, John Spur and John Hazel, were arrested for expressing sympathy and imprisoned. Mr. Clarke said of his trial:

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[1] At Chesterton, and attributed to Inigo Jones. For picture and note, 'arcaded lower story and domical lead roof.' see *Country Life*, November 27, 1915.

'At length the Governor [John Endicott] stepped up and told us we had denied infant baptism, and, being somewhat transported, told me I had deserved death, and said he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction.'

These persecutions could not pass unnoticed by Roger Williams. He sent a letter to Governor Endicott, again expressing his great doctrine of liberty of conscience and of the spiritual unlawfulness of persecution for cause of conscience. He defined conscience as he understood it:

> 'I speak of conscience, a persuasion fixed in the mind and heart of a man, which enforceth him to judge (as Paul said of himself as persecutor) and to do so and so, with respect to God, his worship, etc. This conscience is found in all mankind, more or less, in Jews, Turks, Papists, Protestants, Pagans, etc.' 'Oh, how comes it then that I have heard so often, and heard so lately and heard so much, that he that speaks so tenderly for his own, hath yet so little respect, mercy or pity to the like conscientious persuasions of other men? Are all the thousands of millions of millions of consciences, at home and abroad, fuel only for a prison, for a whip, for a stake, for a gallows? Are no consciences to breathe the air but such as suit and sample his?' He told Governor Endicott that he had written a second part of the 'Bloody Tenent,' although Governor Endicott may not have seen it. In this letter he attacked the practice of the 'magistrates dealing in matters of conscience and religion, as also of persecuting and hunting any for any matter merely spiritual and religious.' 'Only I know my duty,

> my conscience, my love, all which enforce me to knock, to call, to cry at the gate of heaven, and at yours, and to present you with this loving, though loud and faithful noise, and sound of deeper examination of a few grounds of both our souls and consciences.' The gist of the whole matter he thus sums up: 'Sir, I must be humbly bold to say that 'tis impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by their sword, and to worship a true Christ, to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ.
>
> 'Oh, remember once again (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray hair now on both our heads, is a Boanerges, a Son of Thunder, and a warning piece to prepare us for the weighing of our last anchors, and to be gone from hence as if we had never been.'

Mr. Coddington returned from England, with a commission, dated April 3, 1651, from the Council of State, making him Governor of the islands. 'He is made Governor of this colony for his life,' Roger Williams wrote John Winthrop on Mr. Coddington's return in August. While this new arrangement was satisfactory to Mr. Coddington and his party, it did not please those inhabitants of the islands who were not of his party; nor was it agreeable to the other towns of Providence and Warwick. They were, moreover, not at all satisfied with Pawtuxet's refusal to remain with them, and uniting with Massachusetts instead. Such a breaking up of the Colony made some further action of the controlling government in England necessary at once. The citizens of Newport and Portsmouth, sixty-five of the one, and forty-one of the other, sent John Clarke to England to act for them, and Warwick and Providence sent Mr. Williams with him. The Aquidneck Plantations had grown larger than those at Providence. The Providence tax list of 1650 had fifty-one persons, thirty-nine having homes on Towne Street and twelve living in Pawtucket or Newport.

Mr. Williams was not anxious to undertake this mission. Undoubtedly one reason was that he felt he could not afford to go. The youngest of his six children was scarcely eight years old; he had spent of his substance liberally for the common good; and he had not yet been repaid for his former trip. At the February meeting of the Court at Providence, he did not attend, but sent a letter to his brother, Robert Williams, and Thomas Harris, presenting his requests to the town in writing rather than in person, 'because of being much lamed and broken with such travels.' (He had at least some gray hair and was lame at forty-eight.) One of his requests was for the payment of 'that money due unto him about the charter,' in the form of goats, which he was 'improving' at Narragansett. Already he had been sought for the embassy to England. In October previous he had written Winthrop:

> 'Just now a letter from Rhode Island comes for my voyage for England; but as yet I resolve not.'

A year later, however, he wrote:

> 'Being now bound resolvedly (if the Lord please) for our native country, I am not sure whether by the way of the English (you know the reason) or by way of the Dutch. My neighbors of Providence and Warwick (whom I also lately denied with importunities) have overcome me to endeavor the renewing of their liberties, upon the occasion of Mr. Coddington's late grant. Upon this occasion, I have been advised to sell, and have sold this house [the trading-house at Cawcumcussoc] to Mr. Smith my neighbor.'

He wrote the honored General Court of the Massachusetts Colony assembled at Boston for permission to sail from their port and land there on his return. He reminded them of the letter he had brought with him from their noble friends of the Parliament of England, on his previous return, 'lamenting differences and persuading moderation, if not reconcilement and pacification.' He asked them to remember that ever since the time of his exile he had been a professed and known servant to Massachusetts Bay and to all the Colonies of the English in peace and war, so that scarce a week passed but some way or other he was instrumental to the peace and spreading of the English plantings in New England. In the Pequot troubles, receiving letters from the Government of Massachusetts, he hazarded his life into extreme dangers by laboring to prevent the league between the Pequots and the Narragansetts, and to work a league between the English and the Narragansetts, which work, as an agent of Massachusetts Bay and all the English in the land, he effected, and the fruit thereof had been peace to the English ever since.

The Court at Boston was not happy to allow Roger Williams to spend a night in their territory and sail to England from it on his mission. He told them frankly in his 'humble petition' what his mission was. It was felt that Mr. Coddington's commission had superseded the charter. It cut off Rhode Island and Conanicut Island from the Colony. But Massachusetts claimed Pawtuxet, and was not interested in the grant of a new charter reuniting the separating elements of the sister Colony.

Moreover, the Court was in receipt of a letter from William Arnold, of Pawtuxet, who had written secretly, urging them to prevent the proposed new charter. He reported that

'the Gortonists, that live in Shawomet, and that company of Providence, are gathering of two hundred pounds to send Mr. Roger Williams unto the Parliament to get them a charter of these parts. They of Shawomet have given one hundred pounds already, and there be some men at Providence that have given ten pounds and twenty pounds a man, to help it forward with speed.... It is a great pity, and very unfit, that such a company as these are — they all stand professed enemies against all the united colonies — that they should get a charter for so small a quantity of land as lieth in and about Providence, Shawomet, Pawtuxet and Coweset, all which, now Rhode Island is taken out from it, is but a strip of land lying in between the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut; by which means if they should get a charter, of it there may come some mischief and trouble upon the whole country, if their project be not prevented in time; for under the pretense of liberty of conscience about these parts there comes to live all the scum, the runaways of the country, which in time, for want of better order, may bring a heavy burthen upon the land.... Some of them of Shawomet that crieth out much against them which putteth people to death for witches; for, say they, there be neither witches on earth, nor devils, but your own pastors and ministers, and such as they are.'

The magistrates at Boston were doubtless very much of the opinion of Mr. William Arnold; but reasons of prudence prevailed, and the Clerk of the Court endorsed Mr. Williams's humble petition in this wise:

'The deputies think meet to grant this petition, viz; liberty to Mr. Williams to pass through our jurisdiction to England, provided he carry himself inoffensively according to his promise, with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates.'

## Chapter XIX

# ROGER WILLIAMS'S SECOND TRIP TO ENGLAND

Roger Williams and John Clarke sailed for England in November, 1651, from Boston. Notwithstanding the permission received from the General Court, passage through the forbidden territory was not easy or pleasant. So unpleasant did it prove that on his return, more than two years later, he brought with him an order of the Council of State for his free taking ship or landing at their ports to prevent

> 'such distresses as God knows I suffered when I last passed through your colony to our native country.'

The winter voyage was another peril; he called it passing 'through the jaws of death.' But a safe landing brought him 'to behold the wonders, the Magnalia and Miracula Dei in England.'

Great events had transpired since he had last set foot on English soil. The climax of the civil war, the beheading of Charles I, in 1649, had not much mended matters. Another Charles, his young son, had been proclaimed King by the Scots in June, 1650, and Cromwell had been forced to quell that menace by war with Scotland and the final demolition of the Scottish army in August, 1651. The young King was still alive, escaped out of England. But he was still in the offing, an incentive to renewed efforts by the royalist party when opportunity should offer.

Cromwell had been repeatedly successful with the army in the field. Sir Henry Vane, with the reorganized navy, had cleared the seas of royalist privateers. But there was internal trouble; difficulties in the Long Parliament had bred corruption. In 1651, the Navigation Act attempted to confine all imports to English ships or to those from the country of export. It was aimed against the Dutch, who had the best ships of the time and had developed control of the carrying trade because they could accomplish it more cheaply than others. The result of the Navigation Act was war with the Dutch, which broke out almost immediately after Roger Williams's arrival in London.

The disturbed state of affairs was unfavorable to the mission of the colonists. Most fortunately for their cause, however, some of the most powerful men in the Government were intimate friends of Roger Williams and of the New England Colonies. Sir Henry Vane, Governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1637, was a member of the Commission for the Colonies as well as Lord High Admiral; and Oliver Cromwell, the head of the Army and of Parliament, according to tradition had been an intended colonist, ready to embark for New England with John Hampden, when turned back by the King's orders. Roger Williams went to stay with Sir Henry Vane at Whitehall; and by the delegate's own testimony, Oliver Cromwell, then General,

> 'sent for him and entertained many discourses with him at several times.'

Mr. Williams and Mr. Clarke presented to the Council of State their petitions for the confirmation of the original charter which Roger Williams had secured for the Colony of Providence Plantations in 1644; and for the repeal of Mr. Coddington's commission. They met with opposition and delay. The opposition was led by Sir Arthur Hazelrig and Colonel Fenwicke (who had married Mr. Winslow's daughter and had returned to England to live), and Mr. Hopkins, former Governor of Connecticut, who returned to England in 1652. The delay was caused by the pressure of more important affairs in the work of the Council of State. But in April, the matter was referred to the Committee on the Affairs of the Colonies; and, by Sir Henry Vane's mediation with the

Council in October, they granted the petition drawn up by himself and Roger Williams 'for confirmation of the former charter (of the Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay) until the determination of the controversy' and an order was given for vacating Mr. Coddington's Commission.

Roger Williams sent 'a large narration, both concerning Old England affairs and New, to Providence,' with the hope and desire that his friend, John Winthrop, of Connecticut, should see it. He sent word of it in his first letter to his faithful correspondent, from Sir Henry Vane's at Whitehall, on April 20, 1652, beginning:

> ''Tis near two in the morning, yet a line of dearest remembrance to your loving self and yours, from whom I have received so many loving lines, continually.'

In addition to his work for the colonists in regard to their charter, he had the interest and liberties of his Indian friends at heart. Before his departure for England

> 'Ninigret, and others of the Narragansett sachems, importuned him to present their petitions to the high sachems of England, that they might not be forced from their religion, and not be invaded by war for not changing their religion; for they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians that came from about the Massachusetts, that if they would not pray, they should be destroyed by war.'

Mr. Williams, in private discourses with many of the chief men of the nation, especially Oliver Cromwell, acquainted them with the petition. Cromwell

> 'in many discourses expressed a high spirit of love and gentleness, and was often pleased to please himself with very many questions about the Indian affairs' [to the later granting of some favors to them].

Mr. Williams was not idle, at the times when he could not be working on the Colony's business. He had taken to England with him some manuscripts upon which he had been at work at Narragansett the preceding years. These he bestirred himself to have published. During the year 1652 three of his books appeared: 'The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody,' 'The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's,' and 'Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health.'

Mr. Clarke, also, published his 'Ill News from New England; or a Narrative of New England's Persecution.' It was an account of the treatment that he and the Reverend Obadiah Holmes had received at the hands of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in July, 1651, when they went as delegates from the Baptist church at Newport to Lynn. Mr. Clarke's book contained Roger Williams's letter to Governor Endicott in regard to the case, charging Mr. Cotton with responsibility, since he preached to the Court, just before they gave sentence, that denial of infant baptism 'would overthrow all' and was a capital offense.

Mr. Williams missed his friend, Gregory Dexter, who had printed for him 'The Bloody Tenent' in 1643, but who had followed him to Providence and was looking out for his interests there in his absence. In September, he wrote to his 'dear and faithful friend, Mr. Gregory Dexter, at Providence, in New England':

> 'It hath pleased God so to engage me in divers skirmishes against the priests, both of Old and New England, so that I have occasioned, using the help of printer men unknown to me, to long for my old friend. So it hath pleased God to hold open an open desire of preaching and printing wonderfully against Romish and English will worship. At this present the devil rageth and clamors in petitions and remonstrances from the stationers and others to Parliament, and all cry "Shut up the press."... By my public letters you will see how we wrestle, and how we are yet like to wrestle in the hopes of an end.' He had hoped to get away by the ship carrying this letter, but he found he should have to stay a year

> longer. By 'God's mercy, his very great mercy, we have obtained this interim encouragement from the Council of State, that you may cheerfully go on in the name of a colony, until the controversy is determined. The determination of it, Sir, I fear, will be a work of time. I fear longer than we have yet been here, for our adversaries threaten to make a last appeal to the Parliament in case we get the day before the Council.'

Finding that he could not leave England, he determined to begin his old lawsuit, which would prevent his return for more than a year; and he was very desirous of having his wife join him. He did not write positively for her to come to him, considering his many children, the danger of the seas, and enemies. He left her

> 'to wait upon the Lord for direction, and according as she found her spirit free and cheerful, to come or stay.' If she decided to join him, he 'doubted not of Mr. Dexter's love and faithful care in any thing she had occasion to use his help concerning the children and affairs, during their absence.' He wrote most trustingly and affectionately to his friend, concluding with 'Abundance of love remembered from abundance of friends to your dear self and your dearest.'

At the next General Assembly, held at Providence, October 28, 1652, Mr. Gregory Dexter was chosen recorder for the Assembly during sessions. The town of Providence wrote a letter of appreciation and gratitude and encouragement to send to Roger Williams in England. They gave him

'hearty thanks for his care and diligence to watch all opportunities to promote their peace;' and they made known their desire that, with the renewing of their charter by the Council of State, he might be made Governor of the colony for the space of one year, 'and so the government to be honorably put upon this place, which might seem to add much weight forever hereafter in the constant and successive designation of the same.' They told him of their 'hearty desire that his time of stay there for the effectual perfecting and finishing of his so weighty affairs may not seem tedious, nor be any discouragement unto him; and rather that he should suffer for loss of time here, or expense there, they are resolved to stretch forth their hands at his return beyond their strength for his supply.' In conclusion: 'Your loving bedfellow is in health, and presents her endeared affection. So are all your family. Mr. Sayles, also, and his, with the rest of your friends throughout the colony, who wish and desire earnestly to see your face.'

John Sayles married Roger Williams's oldest daughter, Mary, in 1652. His name and those of Gregory Dexter and Robert Williams, Roger's brother, are prominent in the records of the town of Providence, during Roger Williams's absence.

At the next meeting of the General Assembly of Providence Plantations, however, at Warwick, exception to the letter to Roger Williams, sent by the previous Assembly, was recorded:

'Whereas, there was a letter sent to Mr. Roger Williams subscribed from the General Assembly of this colony, bearing the date of October 28, 1652; We, the commissioners of Providence Plantations assembled in general court to advise and order for the peace and safety of this colony, according to the trust committed to us, cannot but take notice of several complaints against particulars therein contained, contrary to the liberties and freedom of the free people of this colony and contrary to the end for which the said Roger Williams was sent, and therefore do declare against the same.'

The resolution is sufficiently vague to cover a variety of objections — as to power or remuneration for Roger Williams.

In April, 1653, Mr. Williams wrote to the towns of Providence and Warwick, from Sir Henry Vane's, at Belleau, in Lincolnshire. He was invited there by both his friends, Sir

Henry Vane and his lady, when Sir Henry, 'having the navy of England mostly depending on his care,' had to go down to the ships at Portsmouth. Roger Williams's suit was still 'hindered by two main obstructions,' he told his 'dear and loving friends and neighbors':

> 'The first is, the mighty war with the Dutch, which makes England and Holland and the nations tremble. This hath made the Parliament set Sir Henry Vane and two or three more as commissioners to manage the war, which they have done with much engaging the name of God with them, who hath appeared in helping sixty of ours against almost three hundred of their men-of-war and, perchance, to the sinking and taking about one hundred of theirs, and but one of ours, which was sunk by our own men.
>
> 'Our second obstruction is the opposition of our adversaries, Sir Arthur Hazelrig and Colonel Fenwick, who hath married Mr. Winslow's daughter, and Mr. Hopkins, both in great place; and all the friends they can make in parliament and council, and all the priests both Presbyterian and Independent; so that we stand as two armies, ready to engage, observing the motions and postures each of the other, and yet shy each of other. Under God, the sheet-anchor of our ship is Sir Henry, who will do as the eye of God leads him; and he faithfully promised me that he would observe the motion of our New England business, while I staid some ten weeks with his lady in Lincolnshire. Besides, here are great thoughts and preparation for a new parliament... some of our friends are apt to think another Parliament will more favor us and our cause than this has done.'

The new Parliament referred to was the 'Praise-God Barebone's Parliament'... the assembly of one hundred and forty 'Nominees,' all 'godly' men, which Cromwell effected on July 4, 1653, after having dissolved the Long Parliament, April 20, 1653. The new Assembly proved impractical and ineffectual through inexperience and fanaticism, and was forced to resign to him on December 11, 1653, after five months of meddling and muddling.

The patient messenger of Providence and Rhode Island was weary of waiting and financially and otherwise embarrassed by the delay. He had 'many offers of service in his native country, but out of a sincere desire to seek the good and peace of the Colony, he refused them,' and wrote home:

> 'You may please to put my condition unto your souls' cases; remember I am a father and a husband. I have longed earnestly to return with the last ship, and with these; yet I have not been willing to withdraw my shoulder from the burthen, lest it pinch others, and may fall heavy upon all; except you are pleased to give me a discharge. If you conceive it necessary for me still to attend this service, pray you to consider if it be not convenient that my poor wife be encouraged to come over to me, and to wait together, on the good pleasure of God, for the end of this matter. You know my many weights hanging on me, how my own place stands, and how many reasons I have to cause me to make haste; yet I would not lose their estates, peace and liberty, by leaving hastily. I write to my dear wife, my great desire of her coming while I stay, yet left it to the freedom of her spirit because of the many dangers. Truly at present the seas are dangerous, but not comparably so much; nor likely to be, because of the late defeat of the Dutch, and their present sending to us offers of peace.
>
> 'My dear friends, though it pleased God himself, by many favors to encourage me, yet please you to remember, that no man can stay here as I do, having a present employment there, without much self denial, which I beseech God for more, and for you also, that no private respects, or gains, or quarrels, may cause you to neglect the public and common safety, peace and liberties. I beseech the blessed God to keep fresh in your thoughts what he hath done for Providence Plantations.
>
> 'My dear respects to yourselves, wives and children.

> I beseech the eternal God to be seen amongst you; so prays your most faithful and affectionate friend and servant,
>
> 'ROGER WILLIAMS'
>
> 'P.S. My love to all my Indian friends.'

It was almost a year after this moving appeal to the town of Providence before he was released from his duty and mission and allowed to return home, in February, 1654. The small sum of money furnished by the Colony for this enterprise of getting a new charter was wholly inadequate to the lengthening demands made upon it. Mr. Williams was forced to labor to earn his living as well as to look out for the interests of the Colonies. This he did by teaching languages in which he was skilled, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. Among his pupils was John Milton, then Secretary of the Council of State, who, in the midst of a war with the Dutch, knew not that language. Roger wrote to John Winthrop in July, 1654:

> 'It hath pleased the Lord to call me for some time and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny. I taught two young gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, constant talk, etc.'

Besides his own labor, and the use of his own funds, Mr. Williams was forced to borrow money to meet the expenses of his mission for the Colony.

## Chapter XX

## LATER WRITINGS

During his months in England, Roger Williams saw many old friends and sent word of them to their relatives and friends in New England. 'The never dying honor and respect he owed to that dear and honorable root and his branches,' Sir Edward Coke, first engaged his attention, in a letter to Coke's daughter, Mrs. Sadleir, to inquire after her and her husband's health and welfare. He regretted that pressure of business and of time would prevent his going to see her in person, and sent her with his compliments in a most dutiful and affectionate letter, a copy of one of his books just published, the 'Spiritual Experiments.' He hoped that she might see in it a worthy result of the care and kindness her dear father spent upon its author.

> 'It hath pleased the Most High to carry me on eagle's wings, through mighty labors, mighty hazards, mighty sufferings, and to vouchsafe to use so base an instrument — as I humbly hope — to glorify himself, in many of my trials and sufferings, both amongst the English and barbarians.'

The correspondence which ensued is an interesting and informing episode of his second visit to England.

The book which Roger Williams sent first to Mrs. Sadleir was his choicest literary production. It is the only one of his writings, besides his letters, and the 'Key to the Indian Language,' which is not controversial. It was a meditation, or discourse, written in the wilderness, among the Indians at Narragansett, and sent home as a gift to his wife after her illness. It reflects the sweetness of his nature, the kindliness, the happiness of his disposition, the strength and beauty of the faith that was the inspiration of his life. It pictures the spiritually healthy man that Roger Williams was, and sheds light on all his acts. Its full title is:

> 'Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health and their Preservatives, In which the weakest child of God may get assurance of his spiritual life and blessedness, and the strongest may find proportionable discoveries of his Christian growth and the cause of it.'

He published it, a private letter written to his wife, at the earnest desire of some godly friends (it was dedicated to the wife of Henry Vane) and his own desire

> 'of sowing a little handful of spiritual seed while the short minute of seedtime (the opportunity of life) lasteth.'
>
> 'My scope is to fill each Christian soul with rejoicing: I speak peace and joy to the weakest lamb and child (in Christianity).... To this poor weak one I speak peace and joy and say, this spiritual poverty is blessed and is the first step or round of that spiritual ladder, Mat. 5: Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.
>
> 'Secondly, I sound joyful alarums of encouragement to the strong to grow (as Peter exhorteth) in the grace and knowledge of the Lord Jesus.'

The tenderness of this strong man toward his wife and his friends, his enemies, and the whole world, animates the book from the beginning:

> 'My dear love, since it pleaseth the Lord so to dispose of me, and of my affairs at present, that I cannot often see thee, I desire often to send to thee. I now send thee that which I know will be sweeter to thee than the honey and the honeycomb, and stronger refreshment than the strongest wines or waters, and of more value than if every line and letter were thousands of gold and silver. Hezekiah upon his recovery from his sickness, made a writing (Isaiah, 38) as an everlasting monument

of his praise unto God, and as a goad or spur to himself and others in the ways of godliness for the future....

'Thy holy and humble desires are strong but I know thy writing is slow, and that thou wilt gladly accept of this my poor help, which with humble thankfulness and praise to the Lord, I humbly tender to his holy service, and thine in him....

'I send thee (though in winter) an handful of flowers made up in a little posey, for thy dear self and our dear children, to look and smell on, when I as the grass of the field shall be gone and withered.'

'All my flowers shall be some choice example or speech of some son or daughter of God, pickt out from the garden of the holy scriptures for our spiritually refreshing and consolation.'

'That is a candle or torch to me, which is written Ephesians 3. That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; unto which agrees that of the first of John: As many as received him, that is received Christ Jesus, into the house of their hearts to dwell there by believing and obeying of him, they are born of the spirit, and are the Sons of God.'

'This inner man, this new-man (which after God is created in holiness and righteousness) I say, this inner-man hath his tempers and distempers, his health and sickness, as well as this outward man, this body of clay.'

'Now as this outward man desires not only life, and being, but also health and cheerfulness in all the living motions and actions thereof; so (and much more ten thousand fold) requires the inward and spiritual man, an healthful and cheerful temper. For as the Lord loveth a cheerful giver; so loves he also a cheerful preacher, a cheerful hearer, a cheerful prayer and cheerful sufferer for his name's sake. He loves that the shoes of preparation be on our feet ready to run (all ways and weathers) the paths of his commandments; that like a vessel our

> leaks be stopt, and our whole soul be ready in an holy trim and tightness, for all his holy employments of us in the greatest tempests; that like heavenly soldiers, our arms be fixt, or like an instrument, the strings of our affections and parts be all in tune, to make heavenly music in the holy ears of our heavenly Lord and king.'
>
> ''Tis true, as it is between a loving couple (and as it was in the church at Ephesus) it is not easy to keep in the first flame of love, fresh and equal, although the fire of the truth and sincerity of marriage love never die or be extinguished.'
>
> 'The obedience of a child of God is that of a dutiful child to his father, or an endeared wife to her husband, not caused by terror or wages, but hearty reverence and affection.'
>
> 'Just as these Indians (amongst whom I write these lines) they see the excellency of the English industry joined with plenty, and a better condition than their own, but endure not that life of labor and endeavor, wherein that plenty and better state is found.'
>
> 'These and many more discoveries of the life of Christ Jesus in the soul (though in the midst of many weaknesses and spiritual sicknesses) I hope (my dear love and faithful companion) thou in truth discernest in thy self, and I, and others, have discerned in thee. But oh search diligently in the Lord's holy presence, and humbly beg his help, that as the spirit of God admonisheth (Gal. 6) thou mayst have rejoicing in thy self and not in another's good opinion of thee.'

His sanity, his kindliness, his fearlessness and high courage sound and shine in many lines throughout the 'writing':

> 'It is an argument of a strong fear of and affection to God, when in all our earthly businesses, we see God and mind his name and praise.'
>
> 'It is a strong argument of a strong constitution and spiritual health when we can make it our work and trade

to aim at glorifying our Maker in doing good to men. Thus our great example, Christ Jesus, made it his work and trade to go about to do good, which he did abundantly and constantly to the souls and bodies of men.'

'A trial of spiritual health and strength is a compassionate and pitiful melting-heart over the afflicted or miserable, yea, although our enemies, or enemies of their own salvation.'

'It is ever safer to fall on the right hand of too much mercy and compassion, than on the left of anger, wrath and cruelty.'

'It is a good evidence of spiritual health, respecting others, when we endure not sin to lie upon them, or rather them to lie in the pit of sin, but endeavor to help them out by wise and loving and seasonable reproof and exhortation.'

'Again, as true love, and zeal for God (when strong) spares not the dearest, so neither does it balk or shun the highest. Thus deal God's prophets even with kings and princes.'

'Hence are God's people also commanded not only to reprove, but to separate in case of final obstinacy in sin.'

'As ever we would preserve our spiritual health, let us carefully take heed of spiritual colds and obstructions. For, as it is in the natural man, a cold itself is a great distemper, and the ground and beginning of others, when the warm streams of blood and spirits are stopt and obstructed. So is it (and much more in the spiritual) when our heavenly spirits are stopt by damp colds and obstructions of unnecessary frequenting of cold societies, and places destitute of the life of the Sun of Righteousness, Christ Jesus.'

Mrs. Sadleir returned, unread, Roger Williams's book, these 'Spiritual Experiments.' Her unsympathetic reply to his letter serves only to show, in contrast, the beautiful spirit of affectionate appreciation and gratitude in which his letter to her had been written. As an uncompromising royalist, bitterly disapproving 'the new way' of belief and worship, she told him that she read but few books — the Bible, the late King's book (the 'Eikon Basilike'), Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' Reverend Bishop Andrews's 'Sermons,' with his other divine meditations, Dr. Jeremy Taylor's works, and Dr. Thomas Jackson upon the 'Creed.'

'Some of these my dear father was a great admirer of, and would often call them the glorious lights of the church of England. These lights shall be my guide. I wish they may be yours; for your new lights that are so much cried up, I believe in the conclusion, they will prove but dark lanterns; therefore I dare not meddle with them.'

She signed herself, 'Your friend in the old way.'

Roger Williams replied in the spirit of the prophet, the witness who must not shrink from testifying, though the unpleasant duty is to knock upon the door of a closed mind.

> 'Having been oft in the jaws of death, sickening at sea, shipwrecked on shore, in danger of arrows, swords and bullets, and yet, methinks, the most high and holy God hath reserved me for some service to his most glorious and eternal majesty.'

He told her he had taken pains to get the books she suggested; that he would read them and that he proposed to render her an ingenuous and candid account of his thoughts about them. He then was 'humbly bold to pray her judicious and loving eye to one of his,' and sent her his just published 'The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody,' a continuation of his controversy with John Cotton, begun in 'The Bloody Tenent,' and carried on in Cotton's answer to it, 'The Bloody Tenent Washed White in the Blood of the Lamb.'

> ''Tis true, I cannot but expect your distaste of it, and yet my cordial desire of your soul's peace here, and

> eternal, and of contributing the least mite toward it, and my humble respects to that blessed root of which you spring, force me to tender my acknowledgements, which, if received or rejected, my cries shall never cease that one eternal life may give us meeting since this present minute has such bitter partings.'

Mrs. Sadleir's reply was intended to put an upstart in his place. She thanked God her blessed parents had bred her up in the old and best religion. When she cast her eye upon the frontispiece of his book, and saw it entitled 'The Bloody Tenent,' she durst not adventure to look into it, for fear it should bring into her memory the much blood that had of late been shed. Her prejudiced fanaticism did not recognize that Roger Williams as well as King Charles was a victim of Puritan persecution. So she returned the book with thanks, and a Scripture reference, entreating him to trouble her no more in this kind, and wishing him a good journey to his charge in New Providence, she rested his 'friend, in the old and best way.'

But the prophet's call still sounded in Roger Williams's ears, and he replied as a prophet would. In 'Spiritual Experiments' he had written:

> 'As true affection stands with plain and sharp reproof of dearest, so true humility in bold dealing on God's behalf, with the most supreme and highest.'

His reply was a long controversial argument on the 'best way,' with five main points, numbered, and the last one subdivided into a firstly, secondly,... sixthly, and lastly.

> 'Earnestly desirous to be in the old way, which is the narrow way, which leads to life, which few find,' he added a postscript, asking her, since she pleased not to read his book, to read one by one of her own authors, 'The Liberty of Prophesying,' by Dr. Jeremy Taylor; 'in the which is excellently asserted the toleration of different

> religions, yea, in a respect, that of the Papists themselves, which is a new way of soul freedom, and yet is the old way of Christ Jesus, as all his holy Testament declares.'

He also humbly wished her to read over impartially Mr. Milton's answer (the 'Eikonoklastes') to the King's book (the 'Eikon Basilike').

Mrs. Sadleir answered aggressively, acrimoniously, and at length. She thought her first letter would have given him so much satisfaction that, in that kind, she would never have heard of him any more; 'but it seems you have a face of brass so that you cannot blush.' With lavish Scriptural quotation she proved to him that she had the law, with the Old and New Testament, on her side — 'to fear God and the King.' She recalled that it had been 'the lot of the best kings to lie under the lash of ill tongues. Witness blessed David, who was a man after God's own heart, cursed by wicked Shimei, his own subject, and called a man of blood; and good Hezekiah was railed on by a foul-mouthed Rabshekeh'; but she did not remember that these men were commended in any place of Scripture for their doings.

The idea that she should read the 'Eikonoklastes' drew an eloquent protest:

> 'For Milton's book, that you desire I should read, if I be not mistaken, that is he that has wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce; and, if report says true, he had, at that time, two or three wives living. This perhaps were good doctrine in New England; but it is most abominable in Old England. For his book that he wrote against the late king that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who stroke him with blindness, and, as I have heard, he was fain to have the help of one Andrew Marvel, or else he could not have finished that most accursed libel. God has began his judgment upon him here — his punishment will be hereafter in hell. But have you seen the answer to it? If you can get it, I assure you it is worth your reading.'

She had read Taylor's book, 'The Liberty of Prophesying' and told her correspondent that, in her estimation, 'it and you would make a good fire.' Of Bishop Laud, she believed, 'however he be slighted, he will rise a saint, when many seeming ones, such as you are, will rise devils.' In conclusion, she

> 'put him in mind how dear a lover and great an admirer her father was of the liturgy of the Church of England, and would often say no reformed church had the like. He was constant to it, both in his life and at his death... By what I have now writ, you know how I stand affected. I will walk as directly to heaven as I can, in which place, if you will turn from being a rebel, and fear God and obey the king, there is hope I may meet you there; howsoever, trouble me no more with your letters, for they are very troublesome to her that wishes you in the place from whence you came.'

This masterpiece of vituperation achieved its object. There was no answer. Mrs. Sadleir kept these letters, to the good fortune of posterity. But she kept them with quite a different motive than that of benefiting anybody. On the outside of the first one of Roger Williams's she wrote the circumstances of her acquaintance with the author, and her reason for preserving his letters:

> 'I leave his letters, that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome.'

In addition to 'The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody' and the 'Spiritual Experiments,' 'The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's' was a third publication of this period. The printing of it was beyond his 'first intentions and desires.' He wrote it at the instance of eminent friends who desired that he should cast in his mite in the high debate touching the propagating of Christ's gospel in the nation. Having suddenly drawn up most of it and given two copies to two eminent friends of Jesus Christ and the nation, he was importuned for more copies than he could possibly transcribe and was advised by some honorable friends to use the help of the press. This noble plea was for a truly spiritual ministry, even though unofficial and not furnishing a man's means of livelihood, rather than the nominal and perfunctory one so often resulting when controlled by the expectation of worldly gain.

> 'I know no other true sender, but the most holy spirit. And when he send, his messengers will go, his prophets will prophesy, though all the world forbid them.'
>
> 'Where God has been pleased to bring in one soul to himself by the hireling ministry, many more have been brought in by the voluntary and more simple preachings of some, whether public or private; by the endeavor of private Christians, by the reading of the holy scriptures, by godly examples, by afflictions, etc.'
>
> 'Hence sure it is that there have been many, and are many, excellent prophets and witnesses of Christ Jesus, who never entered (as they say) into the ministry, to wit, lawyers, physicians, soldiers, tradesmen and others of higher or lower rank, who by God's holy spirit (breathing on their meditations of the holy scriptures, and other private helps) have attained and much improved, an excellent spirit of knowledge and utterance in the holy things of Jesus Christ, which spirit they ought to cherish, and further to improve, to the praise of Christ.'
>
> 'However, this is clear, that all that are betrusted with spiritual or temporal talents, must lay them out for their Lord and Master, his advantage; that all, (of what rank soever) that have knowledge and utterance of heavenly mysteries and therein are the lords and prophets and witnesses against antichrist, must prophecy against false christs, false faith, false love, false joy, false worship and ministrations, false hope and false heaven, which poor souls in a golden dream expect and look for.'

His conclusions were the restatement of the great doctrines of Toleration that he had already forcibly proclaimed in his writings on 'The Bloody Tenent':

> 'Hence must it lamentable be against the testimony of Christ Jesus for the civil state to impose upon the souls of people a religion, a worship, a ministry, oaths (in religious and civil affairs), tithes, times, days, marryings, and buryings in holy ground, yet in force.'

Whereas the duty of the civil state is

> 'a free and absolute permission of the consciences of all men in what is merely spiritual, not the very consciences of the Jews, nor the consciences of the Turks or Papists, or Pagans themselves excepted.'
>
> 'Christ never called for the sword of steel to help the sword of the spirit, that two-edged sword that comes out of the mouth of the Lord Jesus; and therefore if a world of Arrians deny the deity of Christ Jesus; if a Manish, his human nature; if the Jews deny both and blasphemously call our Christ a deceiver; nay, if the Mahometans, the Turks (the greater number by far of one religion in the world); if they, I say, prefer their cheating Mahomet before him, What now? Must we rail, revile, and cry out Blasphemers, Heretics? Must we run to the cutler's shops, the armories and magazines of the cities and nations? Must we run to the cities or nations or senates and cry, Help, you men of Ephesus, help, O inhabitants of Jerusalem: or must we fly up to heaven by prayers and curses to fetch down fire upon the persecuting captains and their fifties? This do the nations. This do false Christs and Christians. But this did not, this will not, do the Lamb of God, the Lion of Judah's tribe, who with his word and spirit alone (which the Father has promised to put into his mouth and the mouth of his seed, and the mouth of his seed's seed — Isa. 59), will either kill or save the gainsaying opposite.'

Roger Williams's writings were widely read in England and exerted a broadening influence on the men that were seeking the best expression of their religion in a national church. He was in advance of his time. But minds like Cromwell and Milton came at last to agree with him.

The 'new Parliament,' of which the friends of Roger Williams had hopes of more favor to the cause of the Colony, was a disappointment to them in this respect, as it was in many another. Cromwell found that godliness was not a sufficient qualification for the members of a government. He deemed it necessary to effect the resignation of the 'Nominees,' and to institute the rule of an Instrument of Government (which was then drawn up) through a Council of State, with the executive power in the hands of himself, Protector.

In February, 1654, Roger Williams's desire to go back to his home and his family was finally granted. He left England, where his plans for help for his Colony in the form of a new charter were still held in abeyance, and his presence in the old country not apparently necessary, to go back to the clamoring infant Colony that sadly needed his pacifying hand. As an aid to his efforts, he took a letter from Sir Henry Vane, in whose hands and in those of his fellow worker for the New England charter, John Clarke, of Newport, who was able to remain longer, he left the Colony's affairs.

# PART V

# ROGER WILLIAMS, PEACEMAKER IN NEW ENGLAND

## (1654–1663)

## CHAPTER XXI

# PEACEMAKER BETWEEN FACTIONS WITHIN THE COLONY

IT was high time for Roger Williams to return to Providence to act again as peacemaker — to bring back to some sort of order the chaos that had developed during his absence, in the Colony and within the town. At his request Sir Henry Vane sent a letter by his 'kind friend and ancient acquaintance' to the inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island, deprecating the 'divisions among them, the headiness, tumults, disorders, injustice, the noise of which echoes into the ears of all, as well friends as enemies, by every return of ships from New England.' He asked:

'Is not the love of Christ in you, to fill you with yearning bowels, one towards another, and constrain you not to live to yourselves, but to him that died for you, yea, and is risen again? Are there no wise men amongst you? No public self-denying spirits, that at least, upon the grounds of public safety, equity and prudence, can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you become a prey to common enemies? [He suggested] commissioners agreed on, and appointed on all parts, and on behalf of all interests, to affect, in a general meeting, such a union and common satisfaction as might put a stop to their growing breaches and distractions, silence their enemies, encourage their friends, honor the name of God, and refresh and revive his sad heart, their affectionate friend.'

In August, soon after his return in the early summer, Roger Williams sent his own message to the town of Providence, his 'well beloved friends and neighbors,' in a letter which, as an everlasting mirror, reflects the confusion and petty wrangling of the townsmen as well as his own high qualities as leader and peace-maker.

'I am like a man in a great fog, I know not well how to steer. I fear to run upon the rocks at home, having had trials abroad. I fear to run quite backward, as men in a mist do, and undo all that I have been a long time undoing myself to do, viz: to keep up the name of a people, a free people, not enslaved to the bondages and iron yokes of the great (both soul and body) oppressions of the English and barbarians about us, nor to the divisions and disorders within ourselves. Since I set the first step of any English foot into these wild parts, and have maintained a chargeable and hazardous correspondence with the barbarians, and spent almost five years with the state of England, to keep off the rage of the English against us, what have I reaped of the root of being the stepping-stone of so many families and towns about us, but grief and sorrow and bitterness? I have been charged with folly for that freedom and liberty which I have always stood for; I say, liberty and equality, both in land and government. I have been blamed for parting with Moshassuck, and afterwards Pawtuxet (which were mine own as truly as any man's coat upon his back) without reserving to myself a foot of land, or an inch of voice in any matter, more than to my servants and strangers. It hath been told me that I labored for a licentious and contentious people: that I have foolishly parted with town and colony in as good order as any in the country about us. This and ten times more I have been censured for, and at this present am called a traitor by one party, against the State of England, for not maintaining the charter and the colony; and it is said I am as good as banished by yourselves, and that both sides wished that I might never have landed, that the fire of contention might have had no stop in burning. Indeed the words have been so sharp between myself and some lately, that at last I was forced to say, they might well silence all complaints if I once began to complain, who was unfortunately fetched and drawn from my employment, and sent to so vast a distance from my family, to do your work of a high and costly nature, for so many days and

> weeks and months together, and there left to starve, or steal, or beg or borrow. But blessed be God, who gave me favor to borrow one while, and to work another and thereby to pay your debts there, and to come over with your credit and honor, as an agent from you, who had, in your name, grappled with the agents and friends of all your enemies round about you. I am told that your opposites thought on me, and provided, as I may say, a sponge to wipe off your scores and debts in England, but that it was obstructed by yourselves, who rather meditated on means and new agents to be sent over, to cross what Mr. Clarke and I obtained. But, gentlemen, blessed be God who faileth not, and blessed be his name for his wonderful PROVIDENCES, by which alone this town and colony, and that grand cause of TRUTH AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, hath been upheld to this day.'

Reminding them of their most recent obstructions to the cause of reconciliation — refusing to send deputies to the general assembly of the inhabitants of the Colony, and forestalling a conference to which he was planning to invite them before the town should act in so fundamental a business — he prayed them to remember, in regard to the 'first particular' (the refusal to send deputies) that their fault was pride, that

> '*only by pride cometh contention...* and certainly the eternal God will engage against the proud.' And in the second case, of their own contentions, he reminded them that 'Love covereth a multitude of sins. Surely your charges and complaints, each against other, have not hid nor covered anything, as we use to cover the nakedness of those we love.'

He then proposed his plan for definite and immediate action, taking personal responsibility:

> 'If you will now profess not to have disfranchised humanity and love, but that as David in another case, you will sacrifice to the common peace, and common

safety, and common credit, that which may be said to cost you something, I pray your loving leave to tell you, that if I were in your soul's case, I would send unto your opposites such a line as this: "Neighbors, at the constant request, and upon the constant mediation which our neighbor Roger Williams, since his arrival, hath used to us, both for pacification and accommodation of our sad differences, and also upon the late endeavors in all the other towns for an union, we are persuaded to remove our obstruction, viz: that paper of contention between us and to deliver it into the hands of our aforesaid neighbor and to obliterate that order which that paper did occasion. This removed, you may be pleased to meet with, and debate freely, and vote in all matters with us, as if such grievances had not been amongst us. Secondly, if yet aught remain grievous, which we ourselves, by free debate and conference, cannot compose, we offer to be judged and censured by four men, which out of any part of the colony you shall choose two, and we the other."

'Gentlemen, I only add, that I crave your loving pardon to your bold but true friend.

'ROGER WILLIAMS'

This letter, with its promise of the continued support of the writer, had its inevitable effect. The General Assembly of Providence Plantations, when they met in May, had chosen a committee 'for preparing a way of some course [of procedure] concerning their dissenting friends, Mr. Olney and Mr. [Robert] Williams, for Providence, Mr. Burden and Mr. Roome for Portsmouth, Mr. Smith and Joseph Torrey, for Newport, and Mr. Weeks and Mr. Potter, for Warwick.' The May Assembly also ordered 'that the general assistant of Providence (in case Mr. Williams return from England), shall repair to him to receive what orders are by him sent for the colony.' The effect of his letter to the town of Providence, and of his untiring efforts at mediation between the opposing factions, is seen in the next of the Colony Records, 'the articles of agreement by the Commissioners of the four towns of the Colony of Providence Plantations,' assembled the last of August. Acknowledging 'the differences and obstructions arising amongst the four towns' as a result of Mr. Coddington's commission from England, they agreed 'that all transactions done by the authority of the inhabitants of the two towns of Rhode Island, Portsmouth, and Newport, from the time of Mr. Coddington's commission and continuing through Mr. Dyer's further orders from the Council of State [in England], in the year 1652, should remain on their account'; and that the transactions of the other two towns of Warwick and Providence during the same time, 'should remain on their own account.' They furthermore agreed to order the future affairs of the Colony by the authority of the former charter granted by Parliament to Roger Williams in 1643, and 'that the General Court or General Assembly of the Colony, to transact all affairs except election, should be composed of six commissioners, chosen by each town of the Colony.' 'The general bulk of the laws that were in force for the Colony at the time of Mr. Coddington's commission' were ordered to stand in force till repealed by a 'Court of Commissioners': and a Court of Election was ordered to be held at Warwick twelve days later for officers to stand until the next regular Court of Election of the next May. On the 12th of September, Mr. Roger Williams was elected President of the Colony of Providence Plantations.

Though the public need of him made his acceptance of the office inevitable, it was quite contrary to his own choice and inclination. In his first letter, on returning from England, after giving his friend John Winthrop the latest news of his father-in-law, Mr. Hugh Peters, and his brother, Major Winthrop, and the general state of affairs in England with 'the Puritans in the saddle and at the helm,' he wrote, of himself, that he had strong desires for keeping home; that he had long had scruples of selling the Indians aught but what tended to civilizing them, and that therefore he had not brought back, to sell to them, any loose coats or breeches (he had sold his trading house at Cawcumcussoc before he went to England); that, after experience of teaching in England, he had begun with his own three boys and others that were coming to him. After being made President, he explained the circumstances to his friend Winthrop:

> 'We have had some gusts amongst us as to our whole colony and civil order. At my coming over, our neighbors were run into divisions. By the good hand of the Lord they were persuaded to choose twenty-four commissioners (six out of a town) to reconcile. They united, and haled me out (sore against my spirit) to public service.'

The General Assembly that elected Roger Williams President desired that he and the Town Clerk, Mr. Gregory Dexter, 'draw forth and send letters of humble thanksgiving to his highness the Lord Protector, and Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Holland, and Mr. John Clarke, in the name of the colony; and Mr. Roger Williams is desired to subscribe them with the title of his office.' None of these letters is on file in the Colony Records: but one is there, written seventeen days earlier than the Colony order, signed by Gregory Dexter, Town Clerk, for the town of Providence, but bearing unmistakable evidence of being written by Roger Williams. He had known the sharp stings of ingratitude: no one ever suffered them at his hands. Gratefully and affectionately were Sir Henry Vane's friendship and services to the Colony acknowledged in the answer to his letter brought home by Roger Williams:

> 'Sir, your letters were directed to all and every particular town of this Providence colony. Surely, Sir, among the many providences of the Most High, toward this town of Providence, and this Providence colony, we cannot but see apparently his gracious hand, providing your honorable self for so noble and true a friend to an outcast and despised people. From the first beginning of this Providence Colony, occasioned by the banishment of

> some in this place from the Massachusetts, we say, ever since, to this very day, we have reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving kindness and favor toward us.' The disturbances and distractions of the Colony were explained by 'the ambition and covetousness of some among them' — the ambition of Mr. Coddington, who, lacking the public, self-denying spirit commended in Mr. Vane's letter, 'procured, by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, Rhode Island, to himself'; and the covetousness of Mr. Dyer, who 'being ruined by party contentions with Mr. Coddington, and being betrusted to bring from England the letters from the Council of State for our recruitings, hoped to recruit himself by other men's goods, and, contrary to the State's intentions and expressions, plunged himself and some others in most unnecessary and unrighteous plundering, both of Dutch, and French, and English also, to our great grief, who protected against such abuse of our power from England.'

But another reason for dissension the letter went on to give, 'that all the load may not be laid on other men's backs.' Perhaps their very blessings have been their downfall.

> 'Possibly a sweet cup hath rendered many of us wanton and too active, for we have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven. We have not only been long free (together with all New England) from the iron yoke of wolfish bishops, and their popish ceremonies (against whose cruel oppressions God raised up your noble spirit in Parliament), but we have sitten quiet and dry from the streams of blood spilt by that war in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor in this colony have we been consumed with the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly Christian magistrates. Sir, we have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tithes are, yea, or taxes either, to church or commonwealth. We could name other special privileges, ingredients of our sweet

cup, which your great wisdom knows to be very powerful (except more than ordinary watchfulness) to render the best of men wanton and forgetful. But blessed be your love, and your loving heart and hand, awakening any of our sleepy spirits by your sweet alarm: and blessed be your noble family, root and branch, and all your pious and prudent engagements and retirements. We hope you shall no more complain of the saddening of your loving heart by the men of Providence town or of Providence colony, but that when we are gone and rotten, our posterity and children after us shall read in our town records your pious and favorable letters, and loving kindness to us, and this our answer, and real endeavor after peace and righteousness.'

## CHAPTER XXII

# PEACEMAKER BETWEEN MASSACHUSETTS AND THE NARRAGANSETTS

THE internal dissensions of the Colony were matched only by the external threatenings. Another Indian war was proposed by Massachusetts against the Narragansetts. Roger Williams, peacemaker, bestirred himself to prevent it. In friendship to his Narragansett neighbors, and with the conviction that 'war is one of those three great sore plagues with which it pleaseth God to afflict the sons of men,' he addressed a letter of remonstrance to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay. He reminded them that it was on the 'express advice of their ever honored Governor Winthrop that he first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of the barbarians': that in the Pequot wars he was employed by their Government in the hazardous and weighty service of negotiating a league between themselves and the Narragansetts, to the imminent danger of his own life at the hands of the Pequot messengers in the Narragansett camp: that, when he had succeeded in obtaining it, their Government had been pleased to send him a copy of the league, subscribed by all hands there: that 'since that time in all their great transactions of war and peace between the English and the natives, he had not spared purse, nor pains, nor hazards, very many times, that the whole land might sleep in peace securely': and that he would not be doing his duty to the Parliament of England, the Council of State, and His Highness the Protector, if he should be silent, when their interests were 'not a little concerned in the peace or war' of New England, and since 'amongst their other favors to the colony of Providence Plantations, some were expressly concerning these very Narragansett Indians, the native inhabitants of this jurisdiction.'

> Professing that he was
>
> 'never against the righteous use of the civil sword of men or nations, yet, since all men of conscience, or prudence, ply to windward to maintain their wars to be defensive,' [he humbly prayed their consideration, whether it were not only possible, but very easy, to live and die in peace with all the natives of New England]. 'Secondly,' he wrote, 'are not all the English of this land, generally, a persecuted people from their native soil? and hath not the God of peace and Father of mercies made these natives more friendly in this, than our native countrymen in our own land, to us? Have they not entered leagues of love, and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? Are not our families grown up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly ask, how it can suit with christian ingenuity to take hold of some seeming occasions for their destructions, which, though the heads be only aimed at, yet all experience tells us, falls on the body and the innocent.'
>
> Thirdly, he prayed them to remember 'how greatly the name of God is concerned in the affair, for it cannot be hid, how all England and other nations ring with the glorious conversion of the Indians of New England; how many books are dispersed throughout the nations on the subject; how all the pulpits in England have been commanded to sound of this glorious work... and that by the highest command and authority of Parliament; and how church-wardens went from house to house to gather supplies for this work.' He pointed out the paradox; he besought them 'to consider how the name of the most holy and jealous God may be preserved between the clashings of these two, viz: the glorious conversion of the Indians in New England, and the unnecessary wars and cruel destructions of [these same] Indians in New England.'

He pointed out, that they might not forget, how the present events of all wars that ever have been in the world have been wonderfully fickle, and the future calamities and revolutions wonderful in the latter end. For example, he reminded them of the war between Dutch and Indians at Manhattan, when he was about to sail for England and saw its first breaking out. The Dutch thought it would be finished in a few days:

> 'but after vast expenses and mutual slaughters of Dutch, English and Indians, about four years, the Dutch were forced, to save their plantation from ruin, to make up a most unworthy and dishonorable peace with the Indians.'

He reminded them that the saying was common to England that

> 'both Scotch and English had better have borne the loans and payments of ship money than to have run upon such rocks as even success and victory proved' to be. And the late war with Holland, begun with zeal against God's enemies, as some members of Parliament said, brought forth only 'the fruits of breach of the Parliament, the enraging of the nation by taxes, the ruin of thousands who depended on manufactures and merchandize, the loss of many thousand seamen and others.'

Having given abundant testimony against Indian war in general, he pointed out several reasons against this particular war: that the Narragansetts and Mohawks were the two great bodies of Indians in the country, and that they were confederates of long standing, yet both of them friendly and peaceable to the English, and each a necessary ally if the English ever had just cause of war with the other; that the Narragansetts were the first to be confederates of Massachusetts true to them in all the Pequot wars, causing the Mohegans to join them as allies to the downfall of the Pequots; that the Narragansetts had never stained their hands with any English blood, but their greatest offenses against the English had been matters of money, or petty revenging of themselves or some Indians, upon extreme provocations; and that they were inclined to peace and love with the English nation, so that, through all their towns and countries, frequently many, and ofttimes only one Englishman, had traveled alone with safety and loving kindness.

He gave, as his opinion:

> 'The cause and root of all the present mischief is the pride of two barbarians, Ascassassotic, the Long Island sachem, and Ninigret, of the Narragansetts. The former is proud and foolish; the latter is proud and fierce.'

He recited Ninigret's grounds for complaint: and reviewed the claims of the Long Islanders. Out of his great wisdom and experience with the savages, he concluded:

> 'All Indians are extremely treacherous; and if to their own nation, for private ends, revolting to strangers, what will they do upon the sound of one defeat of the English; — the trade of killing English cattle and persons and plunder will most certainly be the trade, if any considerable party escape alive, as mine eyes beheld in the Dutch war.
>
> 'But I beseech you, say your thoughts, and the thoughts of your wives and little ones, and the thoughts of all English, and of God's people in England, and the thoughts of his Highness and Council (tender of these parts) if for the sake of a few inconsiderable pagans, and beasts, wallowing in idleness, stealing, lying, whoring, treacherous witchcrafts, blasphemies and idolatries, all that the gracious hand of the Lord hath so wonderfully planted in the wilderness should be destroyed.'

At about the same time that he sent this long letter to Massachusetts, he wrote to John Winthrop in Connecticut, that he had 'presented considerations to the General Court of Massachusetts' in the case of their projected war against the Narragansetts, and bespoke Winthrop's aid (if possible) 'in quenching this devouring fire in the kindling.'

No general war with the Narragansetts took place. But continuous petty troubles required Roger Williams's peaceful negotiations for John Winthrop's neighboring colony of Connecticut during the sharp and bitter winter of 1654–55. In February, he wrote to Winthrop of

> 'a solemn debate with Ninigret and the rest of the Narragansett sachems in a late great meeting at Warwick, whither they came down with four score armed men to demand satisfaction, for the robbing of Pessicush's sister's grave and mangling of her flesh, against John Garriard, a Dutchman.'

He reported his investigations among the Indians to discover the culprits responsible for the killing, at various times, of John Winthrop's cattle and goats. In the spring he presented to Winthrop the cause of a messenger from Mexham, one of the Narragansett sachems, who wanted his help about a gun, taken by Uncas's son, from the bearer's house.

These various letters to his friend Winthrop the first year after his return from his mission to England, about local Indian matters, were also news letters. They followed the course of events in his native country, in which he was greatly interested, in which he had had, but recently, some slight participation, and of which he had had opportunity for very considerable observation. He noted that the Parliament which Cromwell was constrained to call on September 3 'was broken up in discontent'; that 'a fleet was designed against Hispaniola' (Haiti), and Mr. Winslow, formerly Governor at Plymouth, was to go in chief command, or to be Governor (Mr. Winslow died May 8 on board the fleet).

> 'We hear of sixty or one hundred sail; I know the Protector had strong thoughts of Hispaniola or Cuba.' He spoke of 'Mr. Cotton's interpreting of the Euphrates to be the West Indies'; he acknowledged that 'the supply of gold (to cut of taxes) and the warmer climate would make a footing into those parts very precious'; and, in case of the success of the fleet, he looked for 'an invitation at least to these parts for removal, from his Highness, who looks on New England only with an eye of

> pity, as poor, cold and useless. And surely this nonesuch winter is like to set any wheel a going for removals of very many.'

Mr. Leveret, who took Mr. Winslow's place as agent in England for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, reported that the Protector

> 'manifested a very strong desire in him for some leading and considerable company of New England men to go thither to Jamaica: for at that time he was pleased to express that he did apprehend the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England, in order to their bettering their outward condition.'

Other letters to Mr. Winthrop from his friend Roger Williams confirmed the news of the great fleet under General Pen, with Mr. Winslow as counselor, bound for the West Indies, and another under General Blake, bound southward, for the Mediterranean; and gave further details of Cromwell's management of his new Parliament in conforming it to his own purposes.

By this time Cromwell had discovered, to his sorrow, that victory in the field did not mean peace at home. The iron hand, by which he had held his soldiers, he must use to hold his Parliament. The Protector, in order to protect, must be dictator, too. The matter of the charter for the Providence Plantations was indefinitely postponed. Cromwell's own troubles prevented his giving much attention to those of the Colony. But he sent them a message, in consequence of Mr. Clarke's solicitations, in March, 1655.

'To our trusty and well-beloved President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England. Gentlemen: Your agent here hath represented unto us some particulars concerning your government which you judge necessary to be settled by us here; but by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity: for the meantime we were willing to let you know, that you are to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your charter formerly granted on that behalf, taking care of the peace and safety of those plantations; that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonor to this commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things that are before us, they shall as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination, and so we bid you farewell and rest.

'Your very loving friend
'OLIVER P.'

Roger Williams and John Winthrop continued to exchange books, as they had done in the past. 'The Jesuit Maxims' was lent by Mr. Winthrop. In the winter and spring there passed between them 'The Trial of Spirits,' which Roger Williams had brought over with him, and which, with another of Mr. Dell's (the author's) books, 'containing (possibly) some sharp things against the Presbyterians and Academians,' were burnt at the Massachusetts. Mr. Williams wrote that he had an answer to the Jew's book, and another discourse, by L'Estrange, proving Americans no Jews: 'however, I rejoiced to see such industrious spirits breathing in that people toward the Messiah or Christ of God.' The unjust treatment of the Jews by England as well as other countries was always an assault on the charity and toleration of Roger Williams. In his writings he frequently disclaimed approval of the persecution of the Jews.

In these letters there is also testimony which gives some foundation to William Arnold's charge against the town of Providence (in his letter to the Court at Boston, hoping to prevent Roger Williams's mission to England) — that the town was the refuge of all the scum of the country:

> 'Sir, the last first day divers of Boston merchants were with me, about Sergeant Holsey run from Boston hither, and a woman after him, who lays her great belly to him. Sir, a hue and cry came to my hand lately from the governor at Boston, after two youths, one run from Captain Oliver, whom I lighted on and have returned: another from James Bill, of Boston, who I hear passed through our town and said he was bound for Pequot. His name is James Pitnie; he hath on a blackish coat and hat, and a pair of greenish breeches and green knit stockings.'

It would be but natural that the well-known freedom enjoyed in Roger Williams's town would attract lawless persons who were seeking sanctuary for license, not liberty: but they would not find sympathy there. Certain it is that many came: but equally certain that many passed on. In the roll of freemen, in the Colony Records of 1655, when Roger Williams was elected President, Providence had forty-two; Portsmouth, seventy-one; Newport, ninety-five; and Warwick, thirty-eight. Some of the original proprietors had removed to other of the towns — as William Jones to Portsmouth, Benedict Arnold to Newport, Ezekiel Holyman and Stukely Westcott to Warwick, and William Arnold and William Harris to Pawtuxet.

Early in his administration, Roger Williams had occasion to make clear to the town that his doctrine of liberty of conscience was in no way contrary to civil peace and order. On the occasion of a pamphlet's being circulated in the town to the effect that it was blood guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or private weal, he defined his position in the matter:

> 'That ever I should speak or write a tittle, that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent

such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case. There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews or Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges — that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defences; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders nor corrections, nor punishments — I say I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

'I remain studious of your common peace and liberty,

'ROGER WILLIAMS'

The curse of liquor to the Indians had been long a cause of sorrow and anxiety to their friend Roger Williams. In the twenty years of his experience with them the trouble had grown so large that 'for the preventing of the great mischief of Indian drunkenness' various laws were passed by the first Court of the Commissioners in his presidency. At the coming of the English to Plymouth, and the first overtures to the Indians in the exchange of presents between the chiefs, 'strong water' was included in the gifts of the English. From the Indians the newcomers already had learned the use of tobacco to their great pleasure, and, as they thought, profit. Roger Williams told John Winthrop in 1660, apropos of the latter phase of tobacco:

> 'My youngest son, Joseph [born December, 1643] was troubled with the spice of an epilepsy. We used some remedies, but it hath pleased God, by his taking of tobacco, perfectly, as we hope, to cure him.'

And now to the colonists' greater comfort and profit was added the priceless blessing of the Indian corn, the maize that proved the chief staple of their diet, their salvation in the necessities of their early days when famine often threatened. But the effect of alcohol — together with firearms, the other great contribution of civilization to the barbarism of the natives — was, in no very long time, the means of their destruction.

At the incorporation of the Colony under the first charter which Roger Williams brought from England, in the first code of laws of 1647 which were the laws of England brought over to suit local conditions, drunkenness was 'forbidden,' under penalty of a fine, or six hours in the stocks, for the first offense. The progress of the evil effects of alcohol on the Indian can readily be followed in the Colony Records of laws. In May, 1654, the General Sergeant was given 'authority to take up all fines about selling liquor to the Indians, and he together with his assistant, to have half the fines': and it was ordered that what laws had been formerly made for the prohibition of wine and liquor (that they should be sold only in licensed taverns, ale-houses and victualling houses) should 'stand in full force.' Again, on September 1, it was further ordered that no liquors should be sold to any Indians by any one within the Colony under the penalty of five pounds for every default; and that it should be lawful for any one of the Colony to take away any liquor from any Indians found having any, within any of the precincts of the several towns. And still further, it was ordered that each town should

'license one or two houses for the entertainment of strangers and encourage such as should undertake to keep such houses; and that all others, not licensed, should not retail either wine, beer or strong liquors, upon penalty of five pounds, and that former laws for alehouses and liquors be repealed.'

In continuation of these rulings of September, 1654, at the General Court of May, 1655, under President and Moderator, Roger Williams:

'For the preventing of the great mischief of Indian drunkenness, it is thought meet in the first place, that there be two ordinary [inn] keepers appointed in each town, and that none but those shall sell any sort of strong drink, either to English or Indians by retail; that is to say, under a gallon; and in case any shall be found to transgress herein, they shall be fined five pounds for each transgression....

'Further it is agreed, that neither of these ordinary keepers shall sell to the Indians above a quarter of a pint of liquors or wine a day to a person. And in case any Indian be found drunk, the ordinary keeper by whose means he is made drunk, shall pay 20 shillings for each person's transgression; and the Indian shall pay 10 shillings, or be whipt, or laide necke and heels....

'Furthermore, the constable and the ordinary keepers of each town having a warrant from the magistrate's hands, shall have power... to search any man's house to see what quantity of liquors or wine they have. Further — what liquors are retained in this colony shall not be sold to exceed four shillings a quart, at peage six per penny, throughout the colony.

'Further, for the prevention of the abuse aforesaid,... any person or persons... that hath in possession any wine or liquors or other sorts of strong drink or that shall at any time be brought from elsewhere into this colony... shall cause it all to be recorded in the town's records... and if any person upon search shall be found to have concealed any such drink, and not recorded the same within two days after the bringing the same... that person or persons, whoever he or they be, shall forfeit all such liquors or other such aforesaid concealed drink....

'Further, there shall be excise both upon wine and liquors throughout the colony after the rate of five shillings upon every anker of liquor, and five shillings upon every quarter case of wine, which shall be taken by the Sergeant of each town by warrant, unless they pay it in of their own accord.'

The same Court provided for the building of prisons, and Portsmouth and Providence each a cage and pair of stocks. The laws were explicit and inclusive; but the enforcement of them was another matter.

May 22, 1656, the Court

'ordered that that part, or clause, of the law for selling a quarter of a pint of liquor in a day to an Indian made at Providence May 22, 1655, is repealed.'

In May, 1659, it was

'ordered that no person in this colony, after the 29th of September next ensuing, presume to sell or give, wine or strong liquors directly or indirectly to any Indian whatsoever,... only provided, any man that keeps an Indian servant for refreshment, may give him a dram, if he can make it appear he is his hired servant. It is also ordered that it shall be lawful for any person in case they spy an Indian having, or carrying of, liquors, to seize of it for their own proper use. It is further declared, that Indian witness may not pass in the premises.'

Another cause of anxiety in Indian responsibility was the difficulty of suppressing the sale of firearms to the natives. Roger Williams made protest against the practice in a letter to Massachusetts, at the same time with a letter to Cromwell and his Council:

> 'The barbarians all the land over are filled with artillery and ammunition from the Dutch, openly and horridly, and from all the English over the country (by stealth). I know they abound so wonderfully, that their activity and insolence is grown so high that they daily consult, and hope, and threaten to render us slaves, as they long since, (and now most horribly) have made the Dutch.
>
> 'For myself (as through God's goodness) I have refused the gain of thousands by such a murderous trade, and think no law yet extant, amongst yourselves or us, secure enough against such villainy: so am I loath to see so many hundreds (if not some thousands) in this colony, destroyed like fools and beasts without resistance. I grieve that so much blood should cry against yourselves, yea, and I grieve that (at this instant by these ships) this cry and the premises should now trouble his Highness and his Council. For the seasonable preventing of which is this humble address presented to your wisdom.'

## CHAPTER XXIII

## PEACEMAKER BETWEEN THE COLONY AND THE BOUNDARY COLONIES OF MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT

THE disunion of the towns, which had alarmingly threatened a wreck of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, was not immediately remedied by the confirmation of the old charter by Cromwell and the election of the new President. Roger Williams found a great deal of difficulty and confusion and complaint in the town of Warwick. The land of Shawomet, which Samuel Gorton and his companions had bought of the Indians when his coming to Pawtuxet had stirred up strife there, had never been vacated by the natives. But they, as well as the Pawtuxet party hostile to Mr. Gorton, had subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Now both Indians and English of that vicinity refused obedience to the new Government and claimed the protection of the Bay. These Indians were the most unruly and troublesome of all the natives of the country, and their removal from the locality was a pressing need.

The matters of negotiation with the Bay Colony, which presented themselves to Roger Williams early in his term of office, were opened in a letter to the General Court at Boston in December, 1655; the suit for damages of two thousand pounds against Massachusetts by the town of Warwick, a matter already before the Protector; the insolences of the Indians around Warwick and Pawtuxet, claiming to be subjects of the Bay; the obstruction of all law and authority by the four English families at Pawtuxet, those of Stephen Arnold, Zachary Rhodes, William Arnold, and William Carpenter, who, 'before the renewal of the charter, had subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and now refused to conform to the authority of Cromwell in the colony, and were dangerously exempt from all duties and services, from all rates and charges, either with Massachusetts or Rhode Island'; and finally the hardship and injustice of the law prohibiting the Colony of Providence from buying arms of the Bay, although the commerce of Massachusetts with Providence was as great as with any in the country, and the dangers of Providence, being a frontier people, were greater than those of other Colonies.

To this official letter to the General Court of Magistrates and Deputies assembled at Boston, Roger Williams, President of the neighboring Colony of Providence Plantations, which had been continued as a distinct Colony by 'first the Parliament, then the Lord Admiral and *Committee for Foreign Plantations*, and since, the Council of State, and lastly the Lord Protector and his Council,' received no answer. In the spring, he addressed himself to the Governor of Massachusetts, who 'advised sending some Providence men to their Assembly.' Accordingly the same requests were again presented with compelling force — first as to the wrongs of Warwick, suffering from the depredations of Pomham and his savages to the yearly damages, of sixty, eighty, and one hundred pounds:

> 'Honored sirs, our first request in short was, and is, for your favorable consideration of the long and lamentable conditions of the town of Warwick, which hath been thus: they are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians that I have long admired the wonderful power of God in restraining and preventing very great fires of mutual slaughters breaking forth between them.... The remedy is (under God) only your pleasure that Pomham [sachem of Shawomet] shall come to an agreement with the town or colony and that some convenient way and time be set for their [Indians'] removal.'

Pomham had signed the deed granting Shawomet to the settlers, but he claimed that he did so under compulsion of his superior sachem, Miantonomo. According to Roger Williams, such compulsion was wholly within the rights of Miantonomo.

> 'Please you not to be insensible of the slippery and dangerous condition of this their intermingled cohabitation. I am humbly confident, that all the English towns and plantations in all New England, put together, suffer not such molestation from the natives as this one town and people. It is so great and so oppressive that I have daily feared the tidings of some public fire and mischief.'

The third righteous appeal of Providence to Massachusetts, and one connected with the disturbed nature of conditions in Warwick, was the request for permission of the town to buy necessary arms and ammunition from the merchants of Boston —

> 'four or more barrels of powder yearly, with some convenient proportion of artillery, considering our hazardous frontier situation to these barbarians, who, from their abundant supply of arms from the Dutch (and perfidious English, all the land over) are full of our artillery, which hath rendered them exceedingly insolent, provoking, and threatening.... We have been esteemed by some of you as your thorny hedge on this side of you; if so, yet a hedge to be maintained; if as out-sentinels, yet not to be discouraged.'

The immediate action of the Court at Boston on these requests was presented at the Court held at Portsmouth in May, 1656, when Roger Williams was again chosen President of the Colony. He brought word to the Colony that

> 'the honored gentlemen of the Massachusetts pleased to desire that the differences betwixt certain men of Pawtuxet and others of the colony be put to arbitration of some indifferent and judicious men, mutually chosen:

> and that for times to come, the said inhabitants of Pawtuxet enjoy the benefits and privileges of the jurisdiction.'

The General Assembly, of which Roger Williams was moderator, 'having taken the matter into serious consideration and debate, and being very ready and willing to gratify the desire of that honored government,' faithfully promised to their neighbors, the inhabitants of Pawtuxet, that all former differences amongst them should be issued by arbitration; 'and that for the time to come the said inhabitants should enjoy the benefit of all equal and impartial justice with themselves and should be lovingly entertained as freemen of the colony, with the enjoyment of all privileges belonging to freemen.' (Coals of fire on the head of Mr. William Arnold, who hurried off his letter to Massachusetts to prevent Roger Williams's going to England for a charter!) Thus was mended the breach of the Pawtuxet withdrawal from Providence to the protection of Massachusetts, through the mediation of Roger Williams as President of the Colony.

Mr. Clarke sent over from England four barrels of powder, and eight barrels of shot and bullets, which were consigned to the President, Roger Williams, and which the General Assembly ordered to remain in his custody, to be sold to the different towns in proper proportion — whereby he might be enabled to make return for the same to England in time convenient.

Hutchinson, in his 'History of New England,' finds a reason for Cromwell's particular interest in the Bay Colony:

> 'Mr. Leveret was agent in England for Massachusetts Bay Colony and their difficulties with Rhode Island were referred to him. Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode Island against the Massachusetts, by Clark, Holmes and others: but Mr. Leveret, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell, during some part of the war, had much of his favor, and though he could not prevent the Rhode Is-

landers from being favorably received, for no sect could fail of an advocate in Cromwell's court, yet he prevented so much as an enquiry into the conduct of the Massachusetts.'

In May, 1657, Benedict Arnold, of Newport, was chosen President; and a letter was sent to the Assembly by Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence, that was said to charge Mr. William Harris, of Pawtuxet, with high treason. Both men were ordered to appear before the Court on July 4. On that day, Mr. Harris was ordered to 'read over the copy of his book to the Court, and Mr. Williams to view the original.' Mr. Williams was ordered to 'read over his letter to the Court: also his charge against William Harris, and his reply to William Harris's book.' Mr. John Weeks and Mr. John Easton (attorneys) were 'appointed to employ their time till about four of the clock that afternoon,' to consider of the business concerning William Harris's case, as presented by Mr. Roger Williams, of high treason against the Government of England under Cromwell, Lord Protector, and to present in writing to the Assembly their advice as to the further examination of the cause. They found that Harris's book and speeches delivered the doctrine of his conscience, much maintained with Scripture, 'that he ought not to yield subjection to any human order amongst men'; which doctrine had been charged as high treason. Later Roger Williams wrote in 'George Fox Digged out of his Burrows,' 'It is not true that either in word or writing I cried out treason against him.' They recommended that the book, and Mr. Williams's charge, and Mr. Harris's answer to the charge, be sent over to England to Mr. John Clarke, 'desiring him to commend the matter in their and the Commonwealth's behalf for further judgment as he should see the cause require,' and with such convenient speed as he could, for that William Harris 'stood bound by recognizance to good behavior till the receipt thereof by the Court.' Mr. Harris's denial of the necessity 'to yield subjection to any human order among men' was extremely distasteful to Mr. Williams who, two years before, in his letter to the town, had declared his belief in obedience to civil law. The two were men of strong personality and of opposite temperaments. They were bound to clash. This was the same William Harris who had begged to accompany Roger Williams into the wilderness, and who was to prove an everlasting thorn in the flesh of his benefactor. The feud between Mr. Williams and Mr. Harris did not end with the dismissal of the charge of treason against Mr. Harris. A long contention arose between them over the question of Indian bounds — the interpretation of the phrase 'up streams without limits' — a contention which came to a head some twenty years later.

Roger Williams's new Colony soon had dealing with Massachusetts on account of a religious disturbance. Between 1656 and 1660, Massachusetts Bay Colony was engaged in a determined effort to rid themselves of an unwelcome people come among them, the Quakers, a new sect, lately arisen in England, fanatical in their zeal, and courting the persecution New England meted out to them with a no less fanatical devotion than that they had bestowed on witches for some years. Before any Quakers appeared in Boston, all Quaker books were confiscated. In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin came from Barbados, and nine others arrived from London, on the Speedwell. They were arrested, their books they had brought for distribution seized to be burnt, and themselves sentenced to banishment. Acts were passed by which the master of a ship bringing a known Quaker into any part of the Colony should be fined one hundred pounds; that the Quaker should be immediately sent to the house of correction and whipped twenty stripes and afterwards kept to hard labor until transportation; that any one importing or dispensing Quaker books should be fined five pounds: and that any person giving entertainment to any Quaker should be fined forty shillings for every hour's entertainment; that any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and a second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped.

The most remarkable occurrence in the Colony in the year 1655 had been the trial and condemnation of Mrs. Ann Hibbins for witchcraft. She was the widow of Mr. Hibbins, for several years one of the assistants in the Colony, and one of the agents sent over to England with Hugh Peters in 1641. Trouble and losses had preyed upon her mind and

> 'made her turbulent and quarrelsome and brought her under church censures and at length rendered her so odious to some of her neighbors as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft. Unhappily she guessed that two of her persecutors, whom she saw talking in the street, were talking of her; which, proving true, cost her her life, notwithstanding all he [Mr. Norton, minister] could do to the contrary.'

As the number of Quakers increased in spite of the punishments, the severity was increased. In 1658, a law was made for punishing with death all Quakers who should return into the Colony after being banished. Upon this inevitably they felt constrained to return, to bear witness to the truth of their light. William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer were tried, and 'for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after punishment upon pain of death,' were sentenced to die. Robinson and Stephenson were executed on October 27, 1659. Mrs. Dyer, who came from Rhode Island, upon petition of her son, William Dyer, was reprieved on condition of departure within forty-eight hours, and of suffering the sentence if she returned. She was taken to the gallows and stood with a rope about her neck till the others were executed. But she could not resist the compulsion to return, and was herself executed on Boston Common, June 1, 1660. Many Quakers were whipped, many banished, some executed.

These early Quakers, who considered themselves prophets of the Lord, were undoubted disturbers of the civil peace, not only in New England, but, in the beginning, in England also, in great contrast to their peaceable and quiet behavior later.

Thomas Newhouse went into the meeting-house at Boston with a couple of glass bottles, and broke them before the congregation, saying, 'Thus will the Lord break you in pieces.' Elizabeth Horton went crying through the streets of Cambridge that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them. Deborah Wilson went through the streets of Salem, naked as she came into the world. Even at a much later time, these strange practices had not ceased. Judge Samuel Sewall made an entry in his diary, July 8, 1677:

> 'New meeting-house [the Third or South] *mane:* In sermon time there came in a female Quaker, in a canvas frock, her hair dishevelled and loose like a periwig, her face as black as ink, led by two other Quakers, and two other followed. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw. Isaiah 1, 12, 14.'

The early persecutors did have provocation.

Persecution continued until friends of the Quakers in England obtained an order from the King stopping all capital or corporal punishment of his subjects called Quakers and ordering such as were obnoxious to be sent to England. In the summer of 1657, a number of them went to Rhode Island, whither a letter followed them, from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, requesting that Quakers be not received; that such as had been received be removed, and prohibited from coming in the future. For if Rhode Island received them, they would have 'opportunity to creep in to Massachusetts, and to infuse and spread their accursed tenets to the great trouble of the colonies.'

For the Government of Rhode Island, at the Court of Trials, held October 13, 1657, Governor Benedict Arnold sent to the General Court, then sitting at Boston, a letter acknowledging the request of the Commissioners of the United Colonies and saying that,

> 'concerning these Quakers, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words their minds and

understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we moreover find that in those places where these people aforesaid, in this colony, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come; and we are informed that they begin to loathe this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions; nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way; surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers, and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings than by consent to their pernicious sayings.'

The Court at Boston were to hear this same wise point of view from the lips of a Quaker two years later. Wendlock Christopherson, banished for saying 'that the Scripture is not the word of God,' returned and was sentenced to die. It is said that he desired the Court to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings.

'For the last man [says he] that was put to death here, are five come in his room, and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the said principle of life in ten of his servants and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment.'

At Providence the matter of the letter from Boston was referred to the General Assembly of the next March, and their judgment upon it sent to Governor John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts, 'to be also imparted to the honorable commissioners of the United Colonies at their next meeting.' It was an official statement of the fundamental principle of the Colony of Providence Plantations, and its application to the case of Quakers:

'Whereas, freedom of different consciences, to be protected from inforcements, was the principal ground of our charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also to the true intent of the honorable and renowned Parliament of England in granting of the same unto us: which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world... therefore, in case the said Quakers, which are here or shall arise or come among us, do refuse to subject themselves'... as other members of civil societies, to all duties 'requisite to the right of his Highness and the government of that most renowned Parliament of England in this colony'; then we 'determine to take and make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England, that we may humbly present the matter unto the supreme authority of England, humbly craving their advice and order, how to carry ourselves in any further respect towards these people, so that therewithal there may be no damage or infringement of that chief principle in our charter concerning freedom of consciences; and we also are so much the more encouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector, his Highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand that there are, or have been many of the foresaid people suffered to live in England; yea, even in the heart of the nation.'

John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, of the same gentle and pacific spirit as his worthy father, did not approve of the persecutions of the Quakers in the United Colonies. At the trial of the first Quaker martyrs he tried to prevent their execution.

Roger Williams did not like the Quakers. Their uncivil, discourteous behavior was distressing to one whose own manners, springing from inward love and charity for all men, had been developed by intercourse with the most cultured society of the times on both sides of the ocean. But neither did he like the treatment the Quakers were receiving. From his own experience with the same Court at Boston, he could truly sympathize with them in their banishment for publicly maintaining their religious opinions. With that procedure he had no sympathy. He wrote to his friend John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut:

> 'Sir, you were, not long since, the son of two noble fathers, Mr. John Winthrop and Mr. Hugh Peters. It is said they are both extinguished. Surely I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them, even when their judgments led them to afflict me. Yet the father of spirits spares us breath, and I rejoice Sir, that your name (amongst the New England magistrates, printed to the parliament and army by H. Nort. Rous, etc) is not blurred, but rather honored, for your prudent and moderate hand in the late Quakers' trials amongst us.'

In another letter, of six months later, Roger Williams's sane belief in the folly of the policy of persecution to stamp out opinion, was expressed in his comment on his neighbor, Mrs. Scott's, arrival from England:

> 'What the whip at Boston could not do, converse with friends in England, and their arguments, have in a great measure, drawn her from the Quakers, and wholly from their meetings. Try the spirits. There are many abroad, and must be, but the Lord will be glorious, in plucking up whatever his holy hand hath not planted. My brother runs strongly to Origen's notion of universal mercy at last, against an eternal sentence. Our times will call upon us for thorough discussions.'

On September 9, 1661, an order from the King, Charles II, put an end to the persecution of Quakers in New England.

Besides the question of the admission of Quakers into the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the question of the ownership of the islands in the bay led to action by the General Assembly in 1658. In March, Mr. Williams petitioned the Assembly for permission to remove the Indians from Hope Island, of which he had a deed from Miantonomo, which he presented to the Assembly and which was copied and put on file. Mr. Williams was authorized by the Court

'to make repair to the chief sachems, successors to Miantonomo, and, as from the court, desire them to remove their

Indians off the said island, and to leave free possession of it to Mr. Williams and his assigns.'

In this same year Hog Island was claimed by Plymouth as a part of their territory, and commissioners, four on the side of each Colony, were appointed to settle the matter by arbitration. The Court then ordered Mr. Roger Williams to deliver to the President, Mr. Benedict Arnold, with all possible speed and conveyance by a safe hand, the Grand Charter of the Colony, which expressed Hog Island, and all the rest of the islands in Narragansett Bay, as belonging to the Colony of Providence Plantations.

Conanicut Island and Dutch Island had been purchased from the Indians by Benedict Arnold and William Coddington. 'For want of a law thereabout in the colony,' those purchases could not 'be made void or hindered, as also any other purchases made by others formerly.' Yet, to prevent the like purchasing from the Indians, it was ordered by the Assembly that no person, stranger or other, should make any further purchases from the Indians of any lands within the precincts of the Colony.

## CHAPTER XXIV

# PEACEMAKER BETWEEN THE COLONY AND THE BOUNDARY COLONIES OF MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT (*continued*)

VARIOUS questions of bounds were the cause of serious agitation for several years. Major Atherton and some others, of Massachusetts, and John Winthrop, of Connecticut, purchased from the Indians lands in Narragansett that the Rhode Island and Providence Colony claimed as their own. In August, 1659, Roger Williams was one of the committee of eight, two from each town (Benedict Arnold and William Brenton were the Newport members), appointed by the General Assembly of the Colony, to 'draw up three letters, one to the commissioners of the United Colonies, one to the General Court of Massachusetts, and one to Major Atherton and others joined with him, concerning several purchases of lands made in our colony contrary to law.' Mr. Roger Williams was also one of a committee of four, appointed at the same time, to draw up an answer to a letter received from Plymouth, concerning the purchase of Hog Island.

Acknowledging a letter from John Winthrop, in February, 1660, whose 'loving lines in this cold dead season were as a cup of your Connecticut cider, which we are glad to hear abounds with you, or of that western metheglin which you and I have drunk at Bristol together,' Roger Williams wrote his usual remarks on foreign and home news, principal among which was the comment on Winthrop's acquiring land in Narragansett.

> 'I have seen your hand to a letter to this colony, as to your late purchase of some land at Narragansett. The sight of your hand hath quieted some jealousies amongst us, that the Bay by this purchase designed some preju-

> dice to the liberty of conscience amongst us. We are in consultations how to answer that letter, and my endeavor shall be, with God's help, to welcome, with both our hands and arms, your interest in these parts, though we have no hope to enjoy your personal residence amongst us. I rejoice to hear that you gain, by new plantations, upon this wilderness. I fear that many precious souls will be glad to hide their heads shortly in these parts'... 'Mr. Arnold, Mr. Brenton and others struggle against your interest at Narragansett; but I hope your presence might do much good amongst us in a few days.'
>
> 'Your candle and mine draws towards its end. The Lord graciously help us to shine in light and love universally, to all that fear his name, without that monopoly of the affection to such of our own persuasion only; for the common enemy, the Romish wolf, is very high in resolution, and hope and advantage to make a prey on all of all sorts that desire to fear God.'

Roger Williams was fifty-seven years old, and John Winthrop fifty-four — by no means old men. Governor Winthrop lived to be seventy, and Roger Williams, over eighty. But the average life in the new country had been shorter, and some of their friends had died recently, Oliver Cromwell at fifty-nine, and Edward Winslow at sixty. Winthrop's father had died when he was sixty-two. Moreover, Roger Williams had for some time suffered from lameness brought on by the exposure and hardships he had endured in his strenuous wilderness life, beginning with the experiences of the winter of his banishment. Spiritually, too, he had suffered. The death of Cromwell was a heavy blow to him. He feared it was a great setback to the Protestant cause.

> 'The late renowned Oliver confessed to me, in close discourse about the Protestants' affairs, that he yet feared great persecutions to the Protestants from the Romanists, before the downfall of the Papacy. The Presbyterians carried it [Parliament] again of late, clearly, and so vigorously against the Papists, that

> [there are] stricter laws than ever. There must surely, then, be great flames, before the king can accomplish his engagements to the Popish party.'

As a personal friend, also, Roger Williams mourned the loss of Cromwell, whom he had known for thirty years.

After Cromwell's death, and his son Richard's failure to hold his father's office, and Parliament's inability to assume control of the Government, England and her Colonies were ready to go back to monarchy and welcomed Charles II to the throne. The proclamation of His Royal Majesty, King Charles the Second, as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, was made at the meeting of the General Court at Warwick, at eight o'clock in the morning, on the 19th of October, 1660, in the presence of the Court, and the 'train band' of the town: and on the 21st of the month, each town of the colony, at the head of the company of each train band, solemnized the proclamation. All children and servants were given their liberty for the day.

Mr. Arnold and Mr. Brenton were again in May chosen on a committee 'to ripen the matter concerning the purchase made by the gentlemen of the Bay': and Benedict Arnold was a member of a committee ordered to draw up a commission to be sent to John Clarke in England to act as agent 'against all unlawful usurpations, intrusions, and claims' — to wit, purchase of lands belonging to the Colony of Providence by men of the Bay. A commission was accordingly sent to

'John Clarke, physician, one of the members of the colony, late inhabitant of Rhode Island in the same colony and now residing in Westminster, appointing him agent and attorney for the preservation of all privileges, liberties, boundaries and immunities of this colony, according to the true intent and meaning of the free charter of incorporation given and granted to the Colony of Providence Plantation in New England in 1643' — sundry obstructions to those privileges 'having emerged in the claims and encroachments of neighbors, upon some tracts of the land mentioned in the charter as being within the bounds of the colony.'

In October, again, the Committee was chosen

'to treat with those gentlemen that have made purchase of lands in Narragansett, with full power to treat and fully agree with them in the present differences about their coming into our colony — to consider and conclude upon any and every particular that may beget a right understanding between those gentlemen and the colony.'

Roger Williams wrote to John Winthrop, and other 'loving friends and neighbors,' suggesting Niswosakit and Wayunkeke, and the land thereabout, as a desirable place for a new and comfortable plantation, to be settled and financed in a similar manner to that of Providence.

When there was a question of bounds in the Colony, Roger Williams was undisputed authority — except with William Harris. Mr. Williams's letter to John Winthrop, in October of 1660, speaks of having been called out of late to declare his understanding of the bounds of Providence and Pawtuxet; and of some persons' having lands and meadows in possession beyond these bounds. The controversy was over the clause 'up the streams of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, without limits, we might have for our use of cattle,' which was in the memorandum attached, months later than the original, to Roger Williams's first deed. Mr. Williams, in later documents, lays the responsibility for the long contention on William Harris, who interpreted the phrase in a way which Mr. Williams thought was unjust to the Indians, and beyond what they meant.

In a letter about bounds, written to John Whipple, Jr., in 1669, he said:

> 'I was sure of the Tocekeunquinit meadows, and what could with any show of reason have been desired: but some, (that never did this town or colony good, and, it is

> feared, never will) cried out, when Roger Williams had laid himself down as a stone in the dust, for after comers to step on in town and colony: "What is Roger Williams? We know the Indians and sachems as well as he. We will trust Roger Williams no longer. We will have our bounds confirmed us under the sachems' hands before us."'

A deed was procured from the Narragansett sachems, Scuttepe and Quoquagunewett, grandson of Canonicus, confirming

'the grant to Roger Williams, agent for the men of Providence and the men of Pawtuxet, a tract of land, reaching from Pawtucket River to Pawtuxet River. All the lands between the streams of those rivers, and up these streams without limit, for their use of cattle... up the streams of those rivers without limit, or as far as the men aforesaid, of Providence and of Pawtuxet, shall judge convenient for their use of cattle, as feeding, ploughing, planting all manner of plantations whatsoever; to them, their heirs and assigns forever' [on the plea that Roger Williams's deed extended only as long as he lived].

This deed was witnessed by Richard Smith, Richard Smith, Jr., James Smith, and William Dyer.

Roger Williams wrote out a solemn testimony of his purchase in 1636, from Ousamequin, of lands at Seekonk. In the midst of and because of the controversy over the subject of bounds, on December 13, 1661, and on December 20, 1661, he again signed a deed, confirmatory to the early one of 1638, communicating his lands, purchased from the Indians, to his friends, a fellowship and society of purchasers, and so many others as they should in future receive into their fellowship. To this document was attached a memorandum:

> 'I, Mary Williams, wife unto Roger Williams do assent unto the premises. Witness my hand, this twentieth day of December, in this present year, one thousand six hundred sixty-one.'

This memorandum she signed with her initials, M. W., around which some other hand wrote, 'the mark of Mary Williams.' Her signing with her initials was not unusual. Edward Rawson, Secretary of the General Court of Massachusetts, signed some official documents, E. R.; and her husband signed himself R. W. to his letter to Major Mason, Deputy Governor of Connecticut, in 1670. Moreover, writing was not easy for Mary Williams. In his 'Spiritual Experiments,' written to her, Roger Williams records: 'I know thy writing is slow.'

The question of bounds between Connecticut and Rhode Island was at last settled, John Winthrop and John Clarke, the respective agents of the two Colonies, having submitted it to a committee of arbitration of several members of Parliament. King Charles II sent a letter to the Colonies, recommending to their neighborly kindness and protection the proprietors of the Connecticut purchase of Narragansett lands. And finally the charter of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, for which Mr. John Clarke had patiently labored in England for twelve years continuing Roger Williams's negotiations in 1651–53, was signed by the King.

The new charter, long awaited since Roger Williams's going to England in 1651, arrived in the late summer of 1663. At the General Court in Newport in November,

> 'the box in which the king's gracious letters were enclosed was opened, and the letters, with the broad seal thereto affixed, were taken forth and read, by Captain George Baxter who had brought them on his ship, in the audience and view of all the people';... 'with much becoming gravity held up on high, and presented to the perfect view of the people, and then returned into the box and locked up by the Governor, in order to the safe keeping of it.'

The charter was received with rejoicing. Letters of thanks were voted to be sent to King Charles, 'for his high and inestimable, yea, incomparable grace and favor unto the colony'; and to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, 'for his exceeding great care and love unto this colony.' It was voted that Mr. John Clarke 'to be saved harmless in his estate,' all his expenses and disbursements to be 'repaid, paid, and discharged by the colony' (various sums had been sent him at various times, but not sufficient); and a gratuity of one hundred pounds to be paid him 'in consideration of his great pains, labor and travail, with much faithfulness exercised for above twelve years in behalf of this colony'; and 'the thanks of the colony to be sent unto him by the Governor and Deputy Governor.' Captain George Baxter was voted twenty-five pound sterling 'as a token from the colony of their thankful acknowledgement of the charter, of which he was the most faithful and happy bringer and presenter.'

Deed of December 20, 1661:

> 'Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, Roger Williams, of the town of Providence, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England, having, in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-four, and in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-five had several treaties with Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief sachems of the Narragansett, and in the end purchased of them the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket, the two sachems having, by a deed, under their hands, two years after the sale thereof, established and confirmed the bounds of these lands from the rivers and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug on the west, notwithstanding I had the frequent promise of Miantonomo my kind friend, that it should not be land that I should want about these bounds mentioned, provided that I satisfied the Indians there inhabiting. I, having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having, of a sense of God's merciful Providence unto me in my distress, called the place Provi-

dence, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I, then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukeley Westcott, John Greene, Sr., Thomas Olney, Sr., Richard Waterman and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me, and in succession unto so many others as we should receive into the fellowship and society of enjoying and disposing of the said purchase; and besides the first that were admitted, our town records declare, that afterwards we received Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, Sr., William Wickinden, Robert Williams, Gregory Dexter and others, as our town book declares; and whereas, by God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favor with the natives, and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me, and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighborhood with them, to my great charge and travel; it was therefore thought fit by some loving friends, that I should receive some loving consideration and gratuity, and it was agreed between us, that every person, that should be admitted into the fellowship of enjoying land and disposing of the purchase, should pay thirty shillings unto the public stock; and first about thirty pounds should be paid unto myself, by thirty shillings a person, as they were admitted; this sum I received, and in love to my friends, and with respect to a town and place of succor for the distressed as aforesaid, I do acknowledge the said sum and payment as full satisfaction; and whereas in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty seven, so called, I delivered the deed subscribed by the two aforesaid chief sachems, so much thereof as concerneth the aforementioned lands, from myself and from my heirs, unto the whole number of the purchasers, with all my power, right and title therein, reserving only unto myself one single share equal unto any of the rest of that number; I now again, in a more formal way, under my hand and seal, confirm my former resignation of that deed of the lands aforesaid, and bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns, never to molest any of the said persons already received, or hereafter to be received, into the society of purchasers, as aforesaid: but that they, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns shall at all times quietly and peaceably enjoy the premises and every part thereof; and I do further by these presents bind myself, my heirs, my executors, my administrators and assigns, never to lay any claim, or cause any claim to be laid, to any of the lands aforementioned, or unto any part or parcel thereof, more than unto my own single share, by virtue or pretence of any former bargain, sale or mortgage whatsoever, or jointures, thirds or entails made by me, the said Roger Williams, or of any other person, either for, by, through or under me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the twentieth day of December, in the present year one thousand six hundred sixty-one.

'ROGER WILLIAMS
'(Seal, reclining anchor)'

'Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us, Thomas Smith, Joseph Carpenter. Memorandum, the words, of the purchase, were interlined before these presents were sealed. I, Mary Williams, wife unto Roger Williams, do assent unto the premises. Witness my hand, this twentieth day of December, in this present year one thousand six hundred sixty-one.

'The mark of (M. W.) Mary Williams.

'Acknowledged and subscribed before me.

'WILLIAM FIELD, Asst.

'Enrolled, April the 6th, 1662 before me,

'THOMAS OLNEY, Jr., Town Clerk.'

# PART VI

# THE LATER LIFE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

# (1663–1683)

# CHAPTER XXV

# ROGER WILLIAMS, ASSISTANT IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY

ONE morning the last of May, 1664, as Roger Williams went out to his field before sunrise, he met an Indian 'running back for a glass' — Miantonomo's son, who was bound for Connecticut — and thought it a Providence of God (since *nihil sine providentia*) to enable him to send a hasty line of salutation to the Winthrops — 'your kind self and your dear companion.' He returned 'many cordial thanks for Mr. Winthrop's many cordial expressions of ancient kindness' to himself and the public peace and welfare; and he sent word of his being again drawn from his beloved privacy, 'being nominated in the Charter to appear again upon the deck.' In the royal charter sent by King Charles II to the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Mr. Williams was named as one of the ten assistants to Governor Benedict Arnold and Deputy Governor William Brenton, to take immediate office under it in the General Assembly. In March, 1664, it was 'voted that Mr. Roger Williams be requested to transcribe the Charter.'

Roger Williams was too large a man to have the scope of his influence unduly restricted. His humble desires had always been to preserve the plantation and the public interests of the whole of New England and not the interests of this or that town, colony, or opinion. He feared that the next generation would act far unlike the first Winthrops and their 'Models of Love.'[1] He feared that the common Trinity of the world, Profit, Preferment, Pleasure, would in New England be the *tria omnia* as everywhere else: that Prelacy and Papacy would predominate in that wilderness: that

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[1] John Winthrop wrote a *Model of Christian Charity* on board the Arbella in 1629.

God Land would be (and was) as great a God with the English as God Gold was with the Spaniards.

The real message of the letter to Governor Winthrop in May was the hope that he would help in the forthcoming negotiations, 'three days hence,' at Seekonk, between representatives of the Bay and of Warwick and of Newport, to compose the strife about lands and boundaries. Although the charter settled these questions definitely, yet they were still debated by the dissatisfied colonists. There was still work for the peacemaker. In regard to the Pequot lands and Block Island on the one hand, and Warwick on the other, where Pomham refused to give up 'the neck,' for which he had been paid and the deed for which he had signed, Roger Williams's mediation and intercession were sought by his own Colony and the neighboring Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth and Connecticut. The Narragansett Indians also needed his help in their controversies with the Nipmucks and with Massachusetts.

In October he was appointed on a committee to 'review the laws of the colony and to put them in a better form' for finding and for agreement with the charter; on another committee to consider a petition sent in from Block Island men; and on a third, to draw up instructions and a commission for those chosen to treat with the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At this October meeting of the Court,

> 'There being a motion proposed concerning running the lines of the bounds of our colony, both on the west and on the east, which is also farther provoked to be considered by a letter from Connecticut, the court do order that for the farther ripening the matter and preparing the way, it is thought fit to commit the matter to a committee to draw up their thoughts for the time and manner, and to present it tomorrow after dinner. The committee is Mr. Roger Williams, Capt. John Sanford, Capt. John Greene, and Joseph Torrey.'

It was 'to lay out the eastern line,' to Massachusetts Bay frontier. Among the many ensuing commissioners appointed to treat with Connecticut, concerning the western line, Roger Williams was frequently chosen. Mr. John Clark, also, back at last from England to his home in Newport, was one of the commissioners to settle the western line.

During these years and all the others of his life in the Colony, Roger Williams labored to earn a living for himself and his family, 'with the hoe and with the oar.' In February, 1668, he made an offer to the town to carry out the delayed project of a bridge across the Moshassuck River, opposite Thomas Olney's house, and to maintain the bridge throughout his life, the work thereafter to be carried on by his wife and children. Whether or not this bridge was built is not recorded. A bridge at Weybosset Street had been built some time before.

When he held no public office, his advice was frequently sought on particular matters essential to the stability of the government, especially payment of taxes. Gregory Dexter objected to 'the rate,' although William Harris 'strained for it' — he who not long before had written against any subjection to government, as his conscience then dictated. Roger Williams said Gregory Dexter 'made a fool of his conscience,' and was taken to task for so saying by John Whipple, Jr. Williams's reply to Whipple's letter shows his sane interpretation of the bounds of conscience. The next month Mr. Williams encouraged Mr. Dexter 'to send a limestone' to Mr. Winthrop, with a letter of explanation from himself:

> 'He is an intelligent man, a master printer of London, and conscionable (though a Baptist), therefore maligned and traduced by William Harris (a doleful generalist). Sir, if there be any occasion of yourself (or others) to use any of this stone, Mr. Dexter hath a lusty team and lusty sons, and very willing heart, (being a sanguine, cheerful man) to do yourself, or any, (at your word especially) service, upon my honest and cheap considerations.'

Mr. Williams was still troubled about the liquor trade with the Indians. Richard Smith, at Cocumcussoc, had always driven that trade. Roger Williams, who had a home near Smith's the years between his two trips to England for the charter, 'might have gained thousands by it, but God graciously gave him rather to choose a dry morsel,' etc. He insisted that the Indians were 'willing to be peaceable, were it not for that devil of liquor,' which made them insolent and quarrelsome. One of his indictments against the Quakers a few years later was their connection with this traffic that was fatal to the poor natives.

> 'So that by many sudden deaths, what by consumptions and dropsies, the barbarians have been murdered, hundreds if not thousands in the whole country, and more in this colony than in any part of the country beside that I have heard of, against which I have witnessed from Court to Court in vain.'

In 1670 and 1671, Roger Williams was again one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. There was still trouble with Connecticut about the southwestern part of the Colony, Narragansett and Westerly. Special sessions of the General Assembly were called to deal with the problem, and finally, in June, 1670, agents were appointed to go to England to defend the charter against Connecticut's pressing of their claims. Roger Williams wrote to his old Friend Major Mason, who had been the Captain Mason of the Pequot War in the first days of Providence Colony, protesting against seeing him,

> 'with others, embarked in a resolution to invade and despoil their poor countrymen, in a wilderness, and their ancient friends, of their temporal and soul liberties.' [He reminded Major Mason that] 'last year you were pleased, in one of your lines to me, to tell me that you longed to see my face once more before you died. I embraced your love, though I feared my old lame bones

and yours had arrested travelling in this world: and therefore I was and am ready to lay hold on all occasions of writing, as I do at present.'

In this long letter to Major Mason, Roger Williams reviews his history as a political and religious pioneer in New England. In the hope that they might leave their friends and countrymen, their children and relations, and the land, in peace behind them, he begged Major Mason to hold the balance and to weigh, with a calm and a steady and a Christian hand, the few considerations which he in love and due respect presented. To begin with, he outlined his own connection and experience with the lands in question: first, that he came to Narragansett Bay and the Indians by the advice of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts; second, that, finding through a letter from Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, that the Seekonk situation was within the bounds of Plymouth, he had moved to the other side of the water, and founded Providence; third, that when Ousamequin claimed the territory of Providence also for Plymouth, Governor Bradford and others of his godly council answered that, since he (Roger Williams) had, at their motion, departed from them to the place where he then was, he 'should not be molested and tossed up and down again while they had breath in their bodies'; fourth, that the next year he had had his share of service to the whole land in the Pequot War (with great hazard of his life going among the Narragansetts when the Pequot ambassadors were in their camp, and by means of many travels and great expense effecting a league of the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots; entertaining at his house in Providence General Stoughton and his officers; marching with them to the Narragansetts, and bringing them and the sachems to mutual confidence and complaisance in each other; being ready to march with them further, but instead, at their request, staying at Providence as interpreter and intelligencer, constantly receiving and sending letters to the Governor and Council at Boston);

fifth, that he had gone to England to get a charter of government for the Colony of Providence and had drawn the bounds of that Colony from the Pawcatuck River — 'from Pawcatuck River hitherward, being but a patch of ground, full of troublesome inhabitants, I did, as I judged inoffensively, draw our poor and inconsiderable line'; sixth, that, although Massachusetts claimed these vacant lands, yet, upon Mr. Gorton's complaint against Massachusetts, the Lord High Admiral, President (of the Commission for Plantations) said that he knew of no other charter for these parts than the one Mr. Williams had obtained; seventh, that Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke made a solemn agreement about the bounds; eighth, that with the King's Commissioners, sent to reconcile the differences of, and to settle the bounds between, the Colonies, he, Roger Williams, had composed the controversy about bounds between Providence and Plymouth Colonies. Whatever reasons they of Connecticut gave themselves for their encroachments and intrusions, he felt that the business at bottom would prove to be desire for more land, and the knowledge that the present possessors of the land were weaker, and the complaints of privateers.

He was greatly disturbed by the 'depraved appetite'

> 'for great portions of land, land in the wilderness, as if men were in as great necessity and danger for want of great portions of land, as poor, hungry, thirsty seamen have, after a sick and stormy, a long and starving passage.' 'Land is one of the gods of New England.'

To generous, unselfish Roger Williams

> 'it looked like a prodigy or monster that countrymen among savages in a wilderness, that professors of God and one Mediator, of an eternal life, should not be content with those vast and large tracts which all the other colonies have (like platters and tables full of dainties), but pull and snatch away their poor neighbors' bit or crust: and a crust it is, and a dry hard one too, because of the natives' continual troubles, trials and vexations.'

He knew that all the contentions and wars of this world were generally 'for greater dishes and bowls of porridge.'

The consideration of most importance, as Roger Williams felt it and must have felt it, was not the possessing of those 'children's toys, of land, meadows, cattle, government, etc.,' but that this country and corner should be provided as a shelter for the great number of weak and distressed souls, scattered and flying hither from Old and New England, poor and persecuted, according to their several persuasions. 'That heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut' came to regard the Providence Colony in the same light that Mr. Williams did, and confessed as much to him.

> 'Though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment against me, at Cambridge, then Newtown, yet said unto me in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference with the Bay: "I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confess to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been; we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied."'

The King, Charles II, had shown his favor toward the foundation stone of the Colony: he had

> 'vouchsafed his royal promise, under his hand and broad seal, that no person in this colony shall be molested or questioned for the matters of his conscience to God, so he be loyal and keep the civil peace.'

'We must part with lands and lives before we part with such a jewel,' said Roger Williams.

The great universal principle of religious toleration was still the moving force of his life. In spite of his 'old lame bones,' he proposed discussion, by disputation, writing or printing,

> 'that in these flames about religion — as his Majesty, his father and grandfather have yielded — there is no

> other prudent, Christian way of preserving peace in the world but by permission of differing consciences.'

He was ready to dispute at Hartford, Boston and Plymouth, ... one whole day each month during the summer, at each place, by course.

This letter was addressed to Mr. Thomas Prince, Governor of Plymouth Colony, but was sent to Major Mason, Deputy Governor of Connecticut, which it concerned also. It was to be presented to the General Court when next assembled at Plymouth. It was Roger Williams's final contribution toward the settlement of the old disputes with Connecticut and Massachusetts about the border lands.

The discussion on freedom of conscience, which he proposed to Major Mason, did not come about. But soon afterward he engaged in a famous controversy, both by disputation and printing, with Quakers at Newport, the result of which was his book, 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows.'

## CHAPTER XXVI

## CONTROVERSY WITH THE QUAKERS

ROGER WILLIAMS disapproved of the Quakers, though they were received without question in Rhode Island, the refuge for all consciences. To their revolt against forms and ceremonies, and to their fundamental devotion to the truth, 'the inner light' of each individual's conscience, Roger Williams's own beliefs seem closely related. But to him the incivility and rude meddlesomeness that were characteristic of the proselyting of the earliest days of the sect, both in England and America, were highly objectionable.

> 'Amongst Jews and Turks, Papists, Protestants and Pagans (with all of which I have conversed) I never met with such a judging, censuring, reviling spirit as is the spirit of the Quakers.'

There were many Quakers in Newport; Mr. Coddington was one of them; Mary Dyer, who was hanged on Boston Common for returning to the Bay after being banished therefrom, was another. In the summer of 1672, George Fox, the founder and great apostle of the new sect, visited Newport and made a trip thence to Providence.

To the prophet Roger Williams, convinced of the error of a misguided people, the duty and opportunity of bearing witness to the truth among them were not to be denied. In July, he sent a fourteen-pointed challenge to George Fox and his friends at Newport for debate on Quaker doctrines. He had not publicly opposed Fox on the occasion of his being in Providence, as he was later accused by the Quakers, because of an experience he had had in the Newport Quaker meeting the year before:

> 'I went on purpose to discourse of these matters [1. That their Christ was true: 2. That their spirit was God's], (this being the time of their General Assembly

and a great concourse). I was stopped by the sudden praying of the Governor's wife, who also told me of her asking her husband at home (meaning Christ which I had touched upon). I rose up and said, if a man had so alleged, I would have answered him. But I would not countenance so much the violation of God's order in making a reply to a woman in public. Hereupon J. Nichols stood up and said: "In Christ Jesus neither male nor female, etc." I was replying to him and to J. Burnet's speech also concerning their spirit, but I was stopped by John Burnet's sudden falling to prayer and dismissing the assembly. I resolved (with God's help) to be patient and civil, and so I ceased, not being a willingness in them for me to proceed; which experiences made me not to trouble G. Fox and the assembly at Providence, but rather to make a fair and solemn offer of dispute about these matters.'

He had three motives in view for the discussion: first, to vindicate the most holy name of God trodden in the dirt by Fox and his disciples; second, to vindicate the Colony of Rhode Island, which on account of receiving the Quakers was liable to be reckoned among their abettors; third, to make a practical application of the lesson to be derived from the dying outcries, while drowning, of a well-known Quaker, Mr. Nicholas Davis.

By some mischance Fox had left Newport when Roger Williams arrived for the debate, having rowed all day until midnight of the day before the opening of it. Fox's friends, John Burnet, John Stubbs, and William Edmondson, 'able and noted preachers,' carried on in Fox's absence. The controversy lasted four days, three spent in Newport and one in Providence. Afterward Mr. Williams wrote an account of those four days' agitation. He purposed, if he could not get it printed in New England, to try the Old, though 'his age, lameness, and many other weaknesses, and the dreadful hand of God at sea, called for deep consideration.' It was published in London four years later, in 1676.

George Fox replied with an equally long and equally futile tirade, called 'A New England Firebrand Quenched.' Twenty-four pages were filled with quotations from 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows,' with this preface:

'A catalogue of Roger Williams's envious, malicious, scornful, railing stuff, false accusations and blasphemies, which he foully and unchristianlike hath scattered and dispersed through his book.'

John Throckmorton, Mr. Williams's ancient friend and neighbor since the two men came over the sea together in the ship Lyon, had joined the Quakers, and tried to dissuade him from carrying out his purpose of holding a public debate. 'Being bit by such infectious teeth himself, he fell on me as a man would fall upon a toad or serpent.' Throckmorton's three censorious, acrimonious letters, and Mr. Williams's replies fill the first thirty-four of the five hundred pages of 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows,' charge and counter-charge, accusation and vindication, quoted statement and reply. Throughout the whole controversy each side accused the other of insolent lies and slander: Roger Williams confessed:

> 'I have used some sharp Scripture language, but not (as commonly you do) passionately and unjustly.... All that I can hope for (without God's wonderful mercy) is to give my testimony in my generation.... I have proved, and will prove, (if God please), that spiritual pride, that is pride about spiritual matters, is the root and branch of your whole religion, and that the King Eternal, who did cast out proud angels out of his palace, will hardly open his gates to proud and scornful dust and ashes.'

Roger Williams felt that he was uncivilly and unjustly treated during the debate, which influenced his desire to make a true record of the whole proceeding:

> 'Mine own brother, Mr. Robert Williams, schoolmaster in Newport, desired to speak; nor he nor others

> dissenting from them could be permitted, except they would set their hands to my paper.'
>
> 'There were some few speeches, some from the Governor and his wife, and some few others that spake, some in favor of and some against, the Quakers, but neither did my opposites, nor I, so far attend them as to engage with them, excepting some turns that were between William Edmondson and William Hitchcock (an inhabitant of Newport) who, as others did, witnessed against their upbraiding me with my age (old man, old man) as also for their interruptions.'

The rehearsal, however, of the long and tedious argument is as tiresome and profitless as the original debate must have been. In his conduct of it, he is constantly guilty of the same faults with which he accuses his adversaries. The violent, railing language is the contradiction of the gentle spirit of tolerance that has formerly characterized him, the apostle of religious liberty. 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows' and 'A New England Firebrand Quenched' are not adapted to general reading in modern times: nor do they add to the greatness of Roger Williams.

## CHAPTER XXVII

## KING PHILIP'S WAR

IN his old age Roger Williams was still potent in influence with the Indians, although his ancient friends, the powerful sachems of the Narragansetts and Wampanoags, Canonicus and Miantonomo and Massasoit, were dead. In their places were Philip, or Metacom, son of Massasoit; Pessacus, son of Canonicus; and Canonchet, or Nananawtunu, 'Miantonomo's youngest, very hopeful spark.' The young sachems retained their fathers' confidence in Roger Williams. To him still were referred the disagreements that constantly arose. But the general feeling of the Indians toward the English was far less friendly than formerly. After forty years of comparative security during the time of Massasoit, whose good will had been gained in the first days of the Colony, Plymouth was having trouble with the Wampanoags under Philip.

Notwithstanding the treaty he had made in 1671, for several years thereafter Philip was meditating war and stood upon guard with his armed barbarians. Taunton, Swansea, Rehoboth, and Providence stood armed, ready also. Roger Williams was captain of the 'Train Band' of Providence. The continued friction between Indians and English kept him busy in good offices for both sides. It happened that some of the Narragansetts molested the Showatucks; and Uncas's son, Tatuphosuwut, killed a kinsman of Nananawtunu (Canonchet, of the Narragansetts); in both of which disturbances Roger Williams, whose aid was besought by Connecticut men, assisted in the successful settlement. He shared the opinion of the Narragansett Indians about Uncas, and delivered their message to John Winthrop:

> 'Also they prayed me to add, that yourself are not ignorant of Uncas's many foul practices, and how he

> treacherously sent an head (or heads) of the Connecticut Indians to the Mohawks and would send your heads also if he would come at them.'

But Indian difficulties rapidly came to a crisis in this year of 1675. Massachusetts sent Captain Hutchinson, and their armed forces, to treat with the Narragansetts. On June 22, Captain Hutchinson and two other Boston commissioners, from the Governor and Council of Boston to the Narragansett and Coweset Indians, arrived at Roger Williams's house in Providence, with a letter to him, praying for his advice and assistance in their negotiations with the Narragansett Indians. Within half an hour he had departed with them toward the Narragansett country. That night they had a meeting with Canonchet, who

> 'readily and gladly assented to all the Governor's desires and sent word to the other sachems, to Mausup (now called Canonicus), to the Old Queen, widow of Meika, Canonicus' son, and sister of Ninigret, to Ninigret and to Quawnipund, to come to Mr. Smith's for a meeting with the commissioners. Being uncivil and barbarous, and the Old Queen, especially, timorous, the Indians stipulated that the meeting take place near the great pond' [at least ten miles from Mr. Smith's house].

They professed they held no agreement with Philip in this uprising; that though Uncas had sent twenty men to Philip, yet they had not sent one; that they had prohibited all their people from going on that side, and that those of their people who had made marriages there would be made to return or perish; that if Philip or his men fled to them, yet they would not receive them, but deliver them up to the English. The Indians questioned the Commissioners as to why Plymouth pursued Philip. The English answered that he had broken all laws and was in arms of rebellion against them and had been the author of the murder of a friendly Indian, John Sausamon, for revealing Philip's plots to the Governor of Plymouth. The Indians demanded why Massachusetts and Rhode Island joined with Plymouth against Philip and left not Philip and Plymouth to fight it out. The Commissioners answered that all the Colonies were subject to one King Charles, and it was his pleasure, and their duty and promise, for Englishmen to stand by each other to the death, in all parts of the world.

Two circumstances influenced the Narragansetts to ally themselves with the English: first, the sense of their own danger, for they were informed that it was the Bay's resolution to pursue Philip, if need be, with thousands of horse and foot, and reënforcements from the other Colonies; and second, their great and vehement desire for justice upon Tataphosuwut for killing a Narragansett young man of account. While the latter circumstance was being discussed, providentially Major Wait Winthrop, Governor Winthrop's son, and a Commissioner from Connecticut, arrived and joined the meeting. He had seen Tataphosuwut sent bound to the Hartford jail, and his father Uncas in the boat with him. The Narragansetts had heard that Tataphosuwut had since been set free and was keeping his Nicommo, or dance of triumph. The Commissioners decided that it might be great prudence to let the Narragansetts administer their own justice in this case, so that the two nations, the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, might be taken off from assisting Philip, as he passionately desired.

The next morning, after the conference with the Indians, when Roger Williams, still at Richard Smith's, was writing reports of the agreement of the Narragansetts in letters to the Governors of Massachusetts and of Rhode Island and of Connecticut ('though my old bones and eyes were weary with travel and writing'), word came that already, the night before, blood had been shed at Swansea, five English killed and two mortally wounded, and one Indian killed. And by letters from the Governor of Plymouth to Mr. Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, it was also learned that the

Plymouth forces, about two hundred, with Swansea and Rehoboth men, were that day to give battle to Philip.

Two days later, Roger Williams wrote again to Governor Winthrop, enclosed his former letter, which had not yet been sent, and told him of the meeting upon Warwick (though without bloodshed) of one hundred armed Narragansett Indians, which led him, and the other English there with him, to suspect that all the fine words he had had from the Indian sachems were but words of policy, falsehood, and treachery. He had learned that for weeks and months canoes had passed, day and night, to and fro among Philip and the Narragansetts, and that the Narragansetts had committed many robberies on the English houses. It was thought that Philip would not have dared proceed so far without the assurance of being seconded and assisted by the Mohegans and Narragansetts. The Governor and Council of Rhode Island had sent for Mausup (Canonicus) to come to them at Newport, assuring him of safe-conduct. He answered that he could not come, for his child lay sick; but he sent messages of good will and sorrow for the disturbances; and he assured the English that he could not rule the youth and common people in the matter, nor persuade others, particularly his brother, Miantonomo's son, Nananawtunu (Canonchet). He advised the English to stand upon their guard — to fortify some houses and to keep strict watch. Accordingly the women and children of Narragansett were sent away to Newport, Mrs. Smith going away last (the day before), in a great shower, by land, to take boat four miles from her house. Jireh Bull's wife and children, of the garrison house at Pettaquomscutt (Tower Hill, South Kingston), were to go away that day in a boat sent for them from Newport. Canonicus had advised the English to take heed of remaining in lonely places and of traveling in the common roads. The Government of Rhode Island had sent out some troops, at the request of Plymouth, to attend Philip's motions by water and his canoes. King Philip's War had really begun.

All summer 'the business of the day in New England,' Roger Williams wrote Governor Leverett, at Boston, 'is to keep ourselves from being murdered, our houses and barns from being fired, and to destroy and cut off the barbarians or subdue and reduce them.'

If there was any fighting to be done, Captain Roger Williams, of the Train Band of Providence, was in it. Though over seventy years old, he could fight with the sword as well as with the pen. But he believed in peace and always strove for it. He petitioned the General Assembly 'to give leave to as many as can agree with William Field, to bestow some charge upon fortifying his house, for security to women and children. Also to give me leave, and so many as shall agree, to put up some defence on the hill between the mill and the highway, for the like safety of the women and children in that part of the town.' He subscribed ten pounds for the fort; the next largest contribution was two pounds six shillings.

After the outrages at Springfield, it was said that Philip, with a strong body of many hundred cutthroats, was steering for Providence and Seekonk, or for Norwich and Stonington. Arthur Fenner of Providence was appointed by the General Assembly 'Commander of the King's garrison at Providence, and of all other private garrison or garrisons there, not eclipsing Roger Williams's power in the exercise of the Train Band there.' Captain Fenner sent word to Governor Leverett, through Roger Williams, that he had heard, at his farm in the woods, from a native, that Philip's great design was to draw the English forces into such places as are full of long grass, sedge, etc., and then environ them round with fire, smoke, and bullets. Roger Williams knew the Indians and their methods. But he was still their friend. He told the young prince Canonchet, on his return from the Bay in the midst of the hostile preparations, that all their war was 'commootin' (stealing):

> 'they have commootined our houses, our cattle, our heads etc., and that not by their artillery, but our weap-

> ons; that yet they were so cowardly that they have not taken one poor fort from us in all the country, nor won, nor scarce fought, one battle since the beginning. I told him and his men, being then in my canoe, with his men with him, that Philip was his cawkakinnamuck, that is, looking glass. He [Philip] was deaf to all advice and now was overset, cooshkowwawy, and catched at every part of the country to save himself, but shall never get ashore. He [Canonchet] answered me in a consenting, considering kind of way, Philip Cooshkowwawy. I went with my great canoe to help him over from Seekonk to Pawtuxet side (for to Providence no Indian comes). I told him I would not ask him news, for I knew matters were private: only I told him that if he were false to his engagements, we would pursue him with a winter's war, when they should not, as mosquitoes and rattlesnakes in warm weather, bite us. I carried him and Mr. Smith a glass of wine, but Mr. Smith not coming, I gave wine and glass to himself, and a bushel of apples to his men, and being therewith (as beasts are) caught, they gave me leave to say anything, acknowledged loudly your great kindness in Boston, and mine; and yet Capt. Fenner told me yesterday that he thinks they will prove our worst enemies at last.'

This state of hostility was grievous to Roger Williams. It roused his 'sleepy spirits to muse and write,' and to present John Winthrop with what he believed to be the mind and voice of the Most High among them.

> 'You [Winthrop] have always been noted for tenderness toward men's souls, especially for conscience' sake to God. You have been noted for tenderness towards the bodies and infirmities of poor mortals. You have been tender too, toward the estates of men in your civil steerage of government, and toward the peace of the land, yea of these wild savages. I presume you are satisfied in the necessity of these present hostilities, and that it is not possible at present to keep peace with these barbarous men of blood, who are justly to be repelled and subdued as wolves that assault the sheep.'

Mrs. Williams went to Newport, where her son Providence lived: other women and children were transported to safe quarters. There was now 'no passing by Elizabeth's Spring without a strong foot.' This spring at Potowomut, near East Greenwich, was so called (it was noted on the back of Roger Williams's letter of June 13, 1675, to John Winthrop), 'from Governor Winthrop's lady, named Elizabeth, drinking at it as she passed to Boston.' She was the daughter of Hugh Peters, who took Roger Williams's place at Salem, and who was one of the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in London when Roger was in England on a similar mission. Mrs. Winthrop died in November, 1672. But when Roger Williams wrote to Governor Winthrop about the Indian matters in June, 1675, from Richard Smith's, in Narragansett, he still expressed his sorrow in his friend's loss.

> 'Sir, I constantly think of you, and send up one remembrance to heaven for you, and a groan from myself, for myself, when I pass Elizabeth's Spring. Here is the spring, say I (with a sigh) but where is Elizabeth? My charity answers, she is gone to the eternal spring and fountain of living waters.'

He also recorded the recent death of Mr. Blackstone, Winthrop's 'old acquaintance.' These losses made him sensible of his own age and infirmities. 'The Lord make us wait (with Job) for that great change.'

On the 2d of November, the Commissioners of the United Colonies decided that the Narragansetts were the allies of the Indians at war, and raised a thousand more men for an expedition against them. On December 8, the Massachusetts troops marched from Boston, and were joined by those of Plymouth: and on the 18th, by those of Connecticut at Pettaquomscut (Tower Hill). At dawn next day they surprised the Indian camp in a swamp a few miles west of the present village of Kingston. The fortress in the midst was strongly fortified and surrounded by palisades which enclosed five or six hundred wigwams. A block house guarded the entrance. The English captains assaulted it boldly. The first captains and men to attempt the entrance were killed, but the English troops finally struggled in. The battle was fought desperately for three hours: the English were at length successful. They set fire to the wigwams, thereby killing many women and children. One thousand Indians are supposed to have been killed: of the English, eighty-five were killed and two hundred and thirty wounded.

Word in detail of the great swamp fight of December 19 came to Roger in mid-January through a captive of Captain Fenner's. This was an Englishman who had turned Indian, one Joshua Tift. He said he had been at his farm a mile and a half from Pettaquomscut, when the young sachem Canonchet came and took him prisoner, but spared his life, on his promise to be the sachem's servant. He had been in the fight at the fort, and waited on his master, the sachem, until he was wounded — of which wound he died nine days later. The sachems, after two volleys of shot, fled from the fort with his master, passed through a plain and rested by the side of a spruce swamp. If the Mohegan and Pequot allies of the English had been true, they might have destroyed most of the Narragansetts, but the Narragansetts parleyed with them at the beginning of the fight, so that they promised to shoot high, which they did, and killed not one Narragansett man except against their wills. 'When it was duskish,' they heard that the English had retreated, and they sent to the fort to see what their loss was; they found ninety-seven slain and forty-eight wounded, besides what slaughter was made by the burning of the houses. Abundance of corn and provisions and goods were burned. The remaining Narragansetts were without powder, but Philip had promised to furnish them from the French. Philip was at Quawpaug, amongst a great many rocks, by a swamp-side. The Narragansetts were then three days on the march to Philip, with several parties, to the number of four hundred, lying in ambuscades. After the swamp fight, the young prince and chief captain were in a house four miles from Providence, where later Captain Fenner took this Joshua Tift. Roger Williams took down his testimony and sent it to Governor Leverett. Tift was later executed as a traitor.

The town of Providence was finally attacked on March 29, 1676. When the Indians were near by, Roger Williams went out to meet them. To the very last he tried to persuade them not to fight. He warned them that, even if they were successful against the English, the King would send more and more men against them. He could not move them: but they assured him that he would never be harmed by them. Twenty-nine of the Providence houses were burned. The town records were saved, though mutilated by being thrown into the mill pond.

It was not until after Philip's death, on August 12, 1676, that the war finally ended. He was killed by an Indian, under Captain Church's command, near his camp at Mount Hope. His death ended for the Colonies a reign of terror of more than a year. His head was sent to Plymouth, his hand to Boston: his son was sold into slavery, as were the other Indian prisoners. Indian slaves were to serve a certain length of time, depending on their ages; all under five years were to serve till thirty; above five and under ten, till twenty-eight; between ten and fifteen, till twenty-seven; between fifteen and twenty, till twenty-six; from twenty to thirty, to serve eight years; from thirty on, seven years.

By the list of Providence men entitled to an Indian slave, it can be seen who were the men 'who stayed and went not away': Roger Williams, Nathan Waterman, Thomas Fenner, Henry Ashton, John Mowry, Daniel Abbott, James Olney, Valentine Whitman, John Whipple, Sr., Ephraim Pray, John Pray, John Angell, James Angell, Thomas Arnold, Abraham Mann, Thomas Field, Edward Burnett, Thomas Clements, William Lancaster, William Hopkins, William

Hawkins, William Harris, Zachariah Field, Samuel Winsor, and Captain Fenner. Joseph Woodward, Richard Pray, John Smith, the miller, Edward Smith, Samuel Whipple, Nelle Whipple and Thomas Walim, also in the list, were each to have part of a share.

Mrs. Williams was brought back to the town by her son Providence, in his sloop, on August 30. To the great peace and content of the inhabitants, with his vessel he cleared the town of all Indians, taking them to the Newport jail. But the heart of Roger Williams was sad. All his labor with the Narragansett Indians had not availed to save them from destruction, but had served only to delay the fatal day.

# CHAPTER XXVIII

## LAST YEARS

THE last six years of Roger Williams's life were spent in retirement from public activity; but they were not without opportunities for service to his old friends and to the townspeople. He was elected an assistant in May, 1677, but he declined to serve. He had long since earned time for rest and relaxation. In November, 1677, he sent a letter to the Court of Commissioners of the United Colonies, which met at Providence, which explains his long-standing antagonism to William Harris. The occasion was Harris's appeal to the Commissioners, after having appealed to the King's Council in New and Old England, to settle the old claim about the lands bought from the Indians. Mr. Williams was grieved that such a 'self-seeking, contentious soul, who had long afflicted the town and colony, should now, with his unreasonable and unjust clamor, afflict the royal Sovereign, his Council, New and Old England, and lastly the Commissioners of the United Colonies.' Mr. Williams felt and said that Mr. Harris's conduct had been 'furious, covetous and contentious, domineering over his poor neighbors.' In 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows,' he had set forth Harris's character as he had given it at the Court of Trials on the Island, when Mr. Brenton was Governor; he (R. W.) had given his testimony about Harris, and at the same time William Arnold, father of Governor Benedict Arnold and Stukeley Westcott, father of the Governor's wife, gave their testimony with his. The whole claim of Harris in this instance was based on the phrase 'up streams without limits' in the memorandum attached to the first deed from the Indians. Mr. Williams protested that his hand and mind had not conceived and written those words.

> 'This hasty, unadvised memorandum W. H. interprets of bounds set to our town by the sachems; but he would set us bounds to our cattle, but up the streams as far as they branched or run, so far all the meadows, and at last all the uplands must be drawn into this accidental courtesy, and yet upon no consideration given nor the sachems' knowledge or hand, or witnesses, nor date, nor for what term of time this kindness should continue.'

Mr. Williams's statement was that

> 'Miantonomo having set such short bounds (because of the Indians), upon my motion payments were given by us to Alexander and Philip and the Narrangansett sachems, near two hundred and fifty pounds in their pay for inland enlargements, according to leave granted us by the General Court upon our petition. This after purchase and satisfaction to all claimers, W. Harris puts a rotten title upon, and calls it confirmation, a confirmation of the title and grant of *up streams without limits;* but all the sachems and Indians, when they heard of such an interpretation, they cried *commootin*, lying and stealing, as such a cheat as stunk in their pagan nostrils.'

Mr. Williams's letter of defence to the Commissioners of the United Colonies makes his own position sound as well as clear.

Roger Williams's generous soul revolted from this taking advantage of the poor Indians. He pleaded for the spirit of the deed, Harris for the letter. There can be no doubt that Mr. Harris was as convinced of the justice of his claim as Mr. Williams was of its injustice. Both were strong, aggressive men. Mr. Harris held at times important office in the Colony. His interests were wide and varied; he had the largest assortment of instruments and tools of all of his contemporaries — carpenters', blacksmiths', coopers', surveyors', woodturning, etc. The temper of the two men, the acquisitive self-interest of the one and the generous unselfishness of the other, are shown in sharp contrast in this controversy. The Commissioners decided in favor of Mr. Harris; but the final settlement was not made till years afterward.

The heavy disappointment that Roger Williams suffered in this frustration of his hopes for a just ending of the long disagreement with William Harris found expression a few months later in his acknowledgment of a communication from Mr. Thomas Hinckley, one of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, who sent 'some heavenly meditations on that heavenly Mr. Walley.'[1] Edward Whalley, the regicide, with his son-in-law, Colonel William Goffe, came to Boston after the Restoration, and lived for a while at Cambridge. But when the King sent for them for punishment, they were obliged to go into hiding for the rest of their lives. For a long time they were befriended and concealed by Mr. Davenport, the minister at New Haven. Afterward Colonel Whalley lived for many years in concealment at Hadley. He died in 1678. He was the Edward Whalley, cousin of Cromwell, and of Lady Masham, whom Roger Williams had long known.

Mr. Williams thanked Mr. Hinckley for his kindness in sending the meditations, but he begged leave to ask how Mr. Hinckley could say of himself that he was 'deeply distressed, with a true broken heart and contrite spirit,' when, not many months before, he

> 'had deeply distressed Roger Williams and many other innocent souls, as to W. Harris, adding gall to our (mine own above) forty years vinegar in countenancing that prodigy of pride and scorning, W. Harris; who, being an impudent morris dancer in Kent, under the cloak of scurrilous jests against the bishop, got into a flight to New England, and, under a cloak of separation got in with myself, till his self-ends and restless strife, and at last his atheistical denying of heaven and hell, made honest souls to fly from him. Now he courts the Baptists: then he kicks them off and flatters the Foxians; then the

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[1] 'Mr. Whalley was a wild enthusiast, but never accused of those private wickednesses that so constantly disgraced the lives of most of these men.'

> drunkards (which he calls all that are not of the former two amongst us); then, knowing the prejudices of the other colonies against us, he dares to abuse his Majesty and Council to bring New England upon us; and when your noble self discerned and disowned his old and only monstrous song, *Hoc est corpus meum* (up streams without limits), how hath he run about the world again to force my conscience to give him more up Wanasquatucket than the bounds so punctually set us by the sachems in our grand deed. It is not questionable, is that, if he be not satisfied with his poor bone he hath so long fancied, he will stamp on yourself, and his Majesty and Council, too, and make Rome (if he can) (bloody Rome) his sanctuary; for he saith he can go to Mass; yea, (flectere si nequeam), he will go down to devils and witches; for he saith he can go to the Witch of Endor for a piece of bread. I am not sensible of his long thirsting after my blood. I humbly pray the blessed Lord to return him or rebuke him, and to deliver my soul and yours from all our distresses.'

Though in retirement from active political life, Roger Williams showed a keen interest in the affairs of the town; at a town meeting in 1678, in a hot argument about payments, he moved a suspension of proceedings until the sitting of the Court of Commissioners of the Colonies, and presented them a note, praying their favorable and most seasonable help. It was difficult to get payments out of the town. He himself never received all the small amount of money due him for getting the charters. But he used his influence toward payment of taxes up to the end of his life. In 1681, two years before he died, not being able to go to the town meeting, he sent his message in writing to the Town Clerk: 'Considerations presented touching rates.'

He wrote out testimonies — as to Richard Smith's being the first house built at Narragansett, and as to his own first coming to the Indians of Narragansett Bay, and his dealings with Canonicus, their sachem — testimonies of value in the determination of ownership of lands. Though not in active life, he was still an active force in the life of the growing town around him. In 1680, a highway was made from Towne Street to the waterside, and wharf lots forty feet square were laid out. The shipping and merchandising trades were rapidly increasing. Freeborn Williams's first husband was a young shipmaster named Hart. In 1683, the first town sidewalk was recorded by the lot of John Jones.

These last years of his life he lived with his son Daniel, who, in 1676, married the widow of Nicholas Power, who was killed in the great swamp fight. Roger Williams, as Town Clerk, recorded it as 'the first marriage since God mercifully restored the town of Providence.'[1] In a letter to the town, in 1710, respecting the bounds of his Providence purchase, Daniel Williams wrote, concerning his father:

> 'Can you find another such now alive, or in this age? He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all, so that he had nothing to help himself, so that he, not being in a way to get for his supply, and being ancient, it must needs pinch somewhere. I do not say what I have done for both father and mother: I judge that they wanted nothing that was convenient for ancient people.'

The pioneer's work was done, and he knew that it was good. He had established a community based on the separation of religious from civil concerns — the first government in which absolute freedom of religious belief from state interference was assured. He had vindicated and proved practical a fundamental principle of all future States. The comfort of this knowledge was not for him, however. The reward of the pioneer is in the estimation and regard of posterity.

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[1] Of Roger Williams's children, Providence was the only one to die unmarried; and his grandchildren numbered thirty-one. Mary married John Sayles, about 1650, and had six children, Deborah, John, Isabel, Phebe, Eleanor, and Katherine. Freeborn married Thomas Hart of Newport, by whom she had four children, John, Mary, James, and Thomas. He died in 1671 and her second husband, whom she married in 1682, was Walter Clarke, also of Newport. Mercy married Resolved Waterman, of Warwick, and had five children by him, Richard, Mercy, John, Resolved, and Wait. After his death she married Samuel Winsor, by whom she had three children, Samuel, Hannah, and Joshua. Daniel, who married Rebecca Power in 1676, had seven children, Mary, Peleg, Roger (born in 1680, the only grandchild-namesake), Daniel, Patience, Providence, and Joseph — Joseph married Lydia Olney in 1669, and had by her six children, Joseph (1670), Thomas, Joseph (1673), Mary, James, and Lydia. Of Roger Williams's children all but Mary, who died in 1681, survived him; although his son Providence lived but two or three years longer.

Wait-Waterman wife of
Att. Gen., John Rhodes.

Nor was there for the prophet due honor in his own country. One of his last labors was collecting and editing the sermons of his latter years, preached to the English in the Narragansett country. For financial aid in having them printed, he was obliged to write, in May, 1682, to Governor Bradstreet, of Massachusetts:

> 'Sir, this enclosed tells you that being old and weak and bruised (with rupture and colic, and lameness on both my feet), I am directed by the Father of our spirits, to attend his infinite Majesty with a poor mite.... By my fireside I have recollected the discourses which (by many tedious journeys) I have had with the scattered English at Narragansett, before the war and since. I have reduced them into those twenty-two heads enclosed, which is near thirty sheets of my writing: I would send them to the Narragansetts and others: there is no controversy in them, only an endeavour of a particular match of each poor sinner with his Maker. For printing I am forced to write to my friends at Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth and our colony, that he that hath a shilling and a heart to countenance and promote such a soul work, may trust the great paymaster (who is beforehand with us already) for an hundredth for one in this life.'

It is unfortunate that all trace of these writings is lost. For they were not controversial: they were of the type of the 'Spiritual Experiments' of his earlier years; with that slender volume and the 'Key to the Indian Language,' they would have helped to offset the effect of the bulky controversial works, 'The Bloody Tenent of Persecution,' 'The Bloody

Tenent Yet More Bloody by John Cotton's Washings,' and 'George Fox Digged Out of His Burrows.' They would have reflected the sweetness and light of a character that made him beloved by all who really knew him.

Roger Williams died sometime between January and May of 1683. He was buried with military honors, a salute of guns, in the family lot on the hillside behind his house. In 1860, the grave was opened and the bones removed to the Old North Burying-Ground. A tree root, following the lines of the body, was found in the grave, and is preserved in the rooms of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Not on his words, but on his deeds, his fame rests; not on his faith, but on his works that were the result of it. As farmer, teacher, magistrate, interpreter, mediator, soldier, and preacher he was unwearied in well-doing, fervent in business, serving the Lord. James Bryce, speaking at Brown University in Providence in 1904, fitly summarized the character and work of the founder of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the great apostle of Liberty of Conscience: 'Roger Williams was not a great thinker, or perhaps what we would call very original. He was tenacious, resolute, and fearless, as have been other men. What distinguishes him is that he grasped his principle and applied it to the Colony without destroying all government. He was a sweet soul: he was unselfish, tender, generous. Everybody liked him; even the Puritans of the Bay State who banished him, thought him a "dear fellow," and that makes him an almost unique figure among stern, severe men.... Weak things have confounded the strong and the meekness of Roger Williams has inherited the earth. Truth, we are bound to believe, will ultimately prevail. Great is he, who, if not the discoverer of a new principle, can live it and guide others. He received the truth, he lived in it and applied it with sincerity, correctness and faith. That is the greatness of Roger Williams.'

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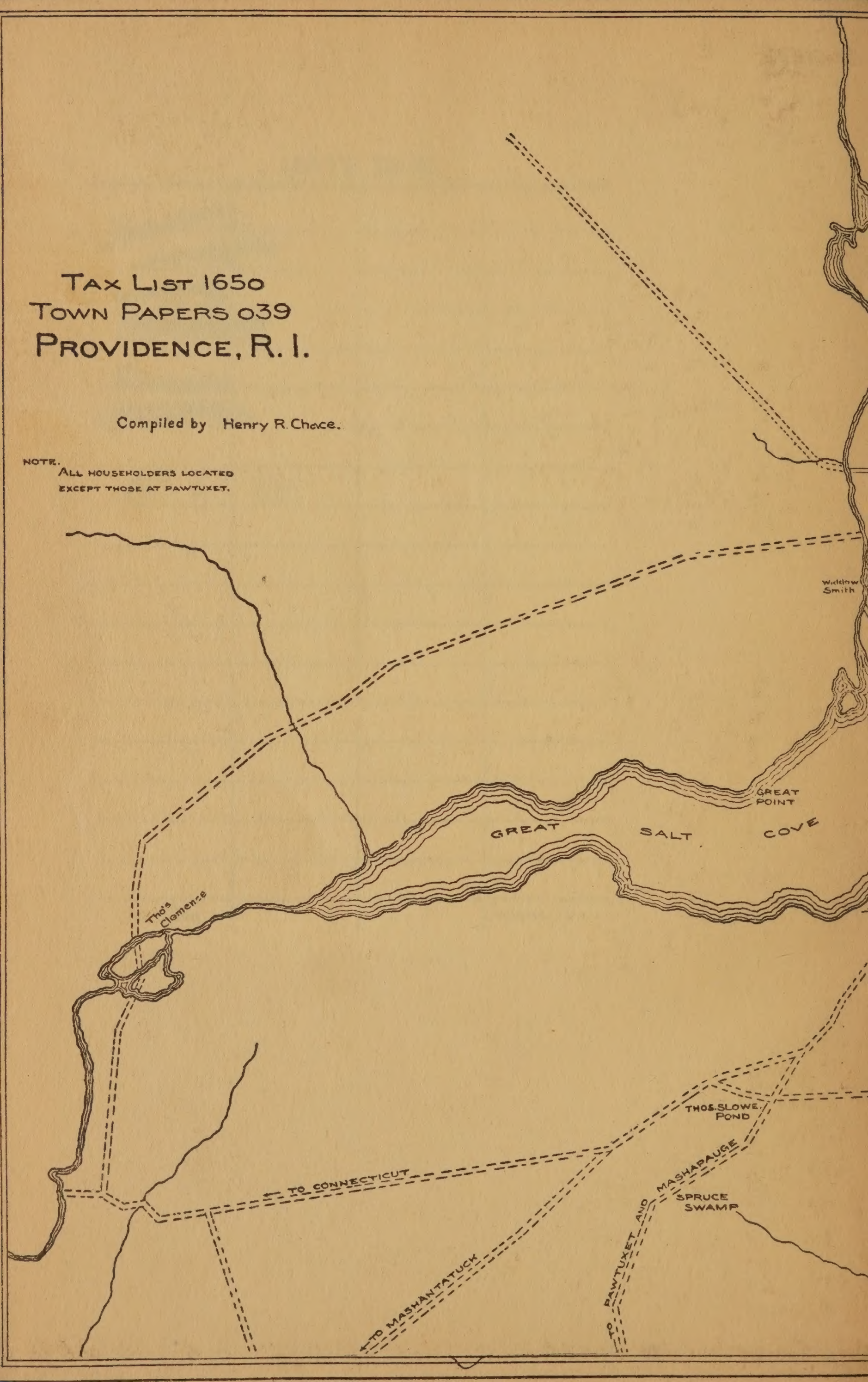

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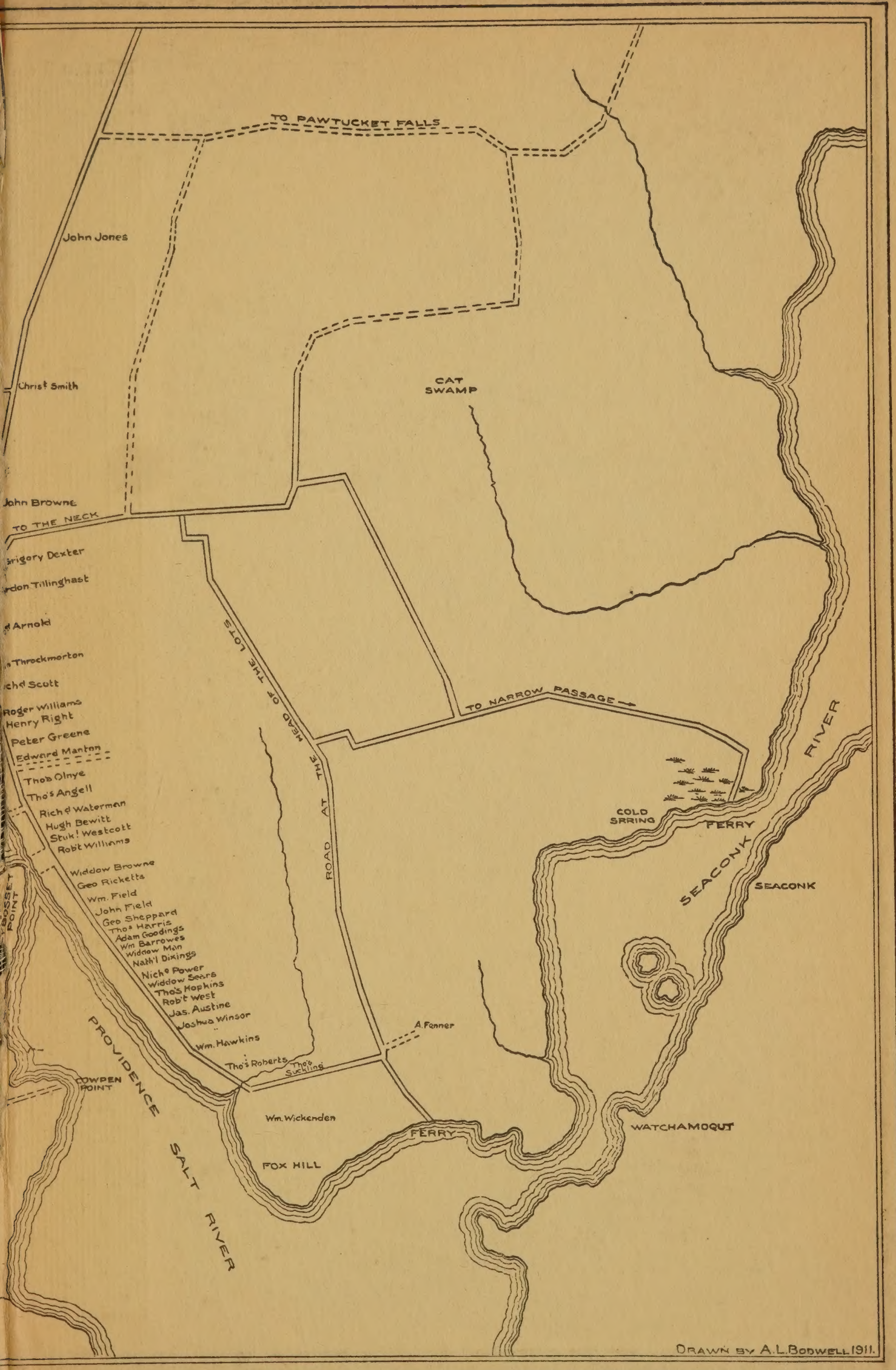
NOTE.
ALL HOUSEHOLDERS LOCATED
EXCEPT THOSE AT PAWTUXET.

Widdow Smith
GREAT POINT
GREAT SALT COVE
Tho's Clemence
THOS. SLOWE POND
TO CONNECTICUT
SPRUCE SWAMP
TO PAWTUXET AND MASHAPAUGE
TO MASHANTATUCK


TO PAWTUCKET FALLS
John Jones
Christ Smith
CAT SWAMP
John Browne
TO THE NECK
rigory Dexter
rdon Tillinghast
Arnold
Throckmorton
chd Scott
Roger Williams
Henry Right
Peter Greene
Edward Manton
Thos Olnye
Tho's Angell
Richd Waterman
Hugh Bewitt
Stuk! Westcott
Robt Williams
Widdow Browne
Geo Ricketts
Wm. Field
John Field
Geo Sheppard
Thos Harris
Adam Goodings
Wm Barrowes
Widdow Man
Nath'l Dixings
Nichs Power
Widdow Sears
Tho's Hopkins
Rob't West
Jas. Austine
Joshua Winsor
Wm. Hawkins
Tho's Roberts
Tho's Suckling
BOSSET POINT
COWPEN POINT
PROVIDENCE SALT RIVER
ROAD AT THE HEAD OF THE LOTS
TO NARROW PASSAGE
A. Fenner
Wm. Wickenden
FOX HILL
FERRY
COLD SPRING
FERRY
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